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EDITOR - - - THE HON. R. ERSKINE

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AUTUMN, 1914



Celt, Slav, Hun, and Teuton



QUESTIONS and problems of race are now so closely interwoven with international politics as to constitute elements inseparable from their proper solution. The mistresses and favourites of kings no longer have it within the power of their individual whim or spleen to raise red war; and the place of the ambitious and intriguing prince or minister knows him no more as a prime-factor whereby whole nations were wont to be set by the ears. The markets of the world now form the objective of the armed hosts that burden and disgrace the universe; and the racial aspirations of submerged peoples second these bloody endeavours in no ambiguous or half-hearted manner, on the principle, doubtless, that when the "Great Powers" fall out there is more chance of honest peoples coming by their own.

The years that are immediately ahead of us are like to prove busy, if not stormy, ones for the Celts of these isles. In order that he may save his soul alive, the Celt is about to be required to scorn the old-time

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delights of division, and, in the interests of racial and national unity, to live laborious days. He is about to be required, too, to educate himself; and, having so far prevailed over his acquired instincts, to render his own enlightenment a cause of edification in others.

For many hundreds of years now the Celt has been the bubble of his own ignorance and the prejudice of designing men, who are strangers to him in blood and civilisation. For hundreds of years he has been taught to look on himself as a kind of "sick man" of the West, whose natural portion in this life is servitude, and whose divinely appointed "atmosphere" consists in imitation. Time after time he has been solemnly assured that he cannot stand alone; that God intended him to be nothing more than a humble and subservient drawer of water and hewer of wood for other peoples; that, racially considered, there is no health in him; and that those are his worst friends who would persuade him to think differently.

We know that water, if dropped from an height, and though only released in drops, yet will, in time, perforate a stone. The effect wrought on the impressionable and somewhat credulous nature of the Celt by means of his detractors' partial counsels and admonitions has been that, at long last, his original strong belief in himself and the mission of his race has been largely undermined. Almost he has been persuaded to take himself at his critics' cheap valuation. One of the charges most frequently brought against the Celt is, that he has neither aptitude nor capacity for rule. He has come to sort of believe it! He has been told,

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time and again, that there never was an undertaking to which the Celt set his hand but it failed. He has turned his cheek to the smiter, and made a "soft impeachment" of the lie! His political pastors and masters are prepared to take their oath on it that his ancestors were barbarians who knew not manners or civilisation, until their own forebears took their reformation in hand. The more ignorant, subservient, and gullible of the Celts actually accept this spurious currency as honest tender, instead of indignantly nailing it to the historical counter!

It is not so long ago that a certain Welshman by name published a book in which he has striven to prove that Welsh nationalism should be discouraged in the interests of his countrymen, and that Wales would be altogether negligible were it not for the lifting-power of the superior civilisation of England. Minds of this peculiar type and singular attitude abound amongst the Celts. The soil of Ulster enjoys a reputation for high fertility in this respect. "The friends of every country but their own" are a numerous and a prolific tribe in Scotland.

But the hour is now come in which these, and other silly libels of the Saxon, and their dupes, the interned Celts, should be for ever laid aside. In seeking to defend the civilisation of the Celts, to confound our enemies, and to encourage one another, we should, however, be careful not to run out into extremes. No good cause has ever had, in the event, just reason to complain of its leader's moderation. The perfect nation, as the perfect man, has yet to be begotten. Much that the ancient Celts devised by way of civilisation is worthy of

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all praise ; but, on the other hand, a good deal of that which obtained under their dominion is much to be regretted, and would be dangerous to revive. It is the misfortune of the Celts that their civilisation was cut off by the feudal system before it had time to mature—to discard those features and to expunge those characteristics which time and experience must conjointly have proved to be unworthy to be retained, had the Celtic system been suffered to weather the storms that so early and so furiously assailed it. But we know enough about the principles and first motions of the Celtic civilisation to understand that it was a growth of uncommon promise. Moreover, whether it were so or not, it was our very own ; and he is but half a man that is not partial to his own blood, and is not resolute to cleave to that which by birthright belongs to him, in place of surrendering his patrimony in exchange for the stranger's mess of pottage.

On the other hand, too facile, amiable, and accommodating a spirit in face of the attacks and the criticisms of our southern censors would be alike contrary to the interests of our cause, and repugnant to the dictates of truth. The Celtic peoples have no cause to be ashamed of their past ; and though blots exist on the national escutcheon (as they do on those of all peoples), yet, on the whole, it is a comely and a fair shield that we turn to the gaze of the universe. Certainly, we have no cause to be obliged to the English ; and if, for purposes of debate, we must reluctantly enter into comparison with that people, the result, so far as the first historical beginnings of the two races are concerned, is much more like to be odious to them than it is in the least degree

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probable that it could prove to be disconcerting to our own pretensions. To suppose that the Celt is the creation of the Saxon, as regards civilisation, is a notion which is something too funny for words. At a time when the forebears of the modern Englishman were ekeing out a miserable subsistence amid the bogs and the mists that accommodate the mouth of the Elbe with a reputation for a truly villainous climate, and were pagans in faith, and savages in manners, the Celts were already a polite people, having a civilisation of their own, and in a fair way to reorganise and recivilise those parts of the western continent on which a darkness as of night had descended in consequence of the repeated irruptions of the barbarians. And when the Saxons came and saw and eventually conquered, was it not largely from the lips of Celtic missionaries that they received the rudiments of religion, together with their first instructions in the art of civilised deportment? The best return that can be made to the foolish charge that the Celts, as a people, have no aptitude for ruling is, that the Englishman would not be where he is to-day were it not for Celtic compassion on his genius for "muddle," and Celtic exploitation of his subserviency, and racial partiality for stranger dictation.

We Celts, however, have no wish unduly to press these and other considerations which, were the dogs of provocation imprudently unleashed, historical knowledge might barb, or reflection could arm with a sting. Nevertheless, do we desire it to be universally understood that we are out for a place in the sun, and that though it is our natural politeness and good humour that now unite to ask for it, yet is this not to be construed other-

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wise than as being our amiable Celtic way of seeking that which we are persuaded is already our own, and is to be resumed, at all costs and at all hazards.

The political state of Europe may, on occasions, be justly compared to a nest of birds, or a roost-perch crowded with fowls. To pursue the former simile, the observer will perceive a brisk agitation to invade, from time to time, the nest. The feathered family is mightily disturbed. There is much shoving and pushing and squawking and pecking. Next, a head or two will pop up from below; there is a heave, and a unit is shot over the lip of the nest. Then, *fessa civilibus discordiis*, as it were, the brood settles sulkily down again, and there is comparative peace for a time. And my second simile is like unto the first, only that here the roost-perch is the storm-centre of travail, instead of the nest. The cocks take the best places, and the motto for the rest is, *scabies capiant extremum*. The weaker fowls are, time after time, dislodged from the perch by their stronger fellows. Some seek not to recover their former situation, but pass the rest of the night on the ground, or on perches that are not in so great favour. Others, more bold and aspiring by nature, spring up again, frequently just as the rest of the fowl-house is nodding, or is already settled to sleep. Again are din and commotion the rule of the roost; and the last state of that fowl-house, though, peradventure, not much better than the first, is rarely a happy one, and one based on concord—to judge by the appearance and the carriage of its inmates.

In the impression of the London *Morning Post* for 19th August last, there appeared an interesting editorial article, consisting of a kind of forecast of the political

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state of Europe, after the war shall have been brought to a period. In the course of that paper the writer observes, "the frontiers of the European States should, *as far as possible*, correspond with those of nationalities." The *Morning Post* scribe did well to qualify his utterance by means of the words which I have italicised above. So long as Empires (not one of which does not violate the principle ventilated by the *Morning Post*) endure, so long will the application of that principle be found to be dependent on a vicarious, a partial, and a self-interested exercise. Nevertheless, it is interesting, and a significant sign of the times, that this important and ably conducted English Tory newspaper should thus be discovered throwing overboard the doctrines and precepts of Grotius and Puffendorf. Such an attitude on the part of such a journal shows that the lessons of the times are being intelligently assimilated in quarters from which so much candour and common-sense, as regards a principle of this sort, was scarce to be expected. At all events, the vigour and celerity which have characterised the growth of these sentiments have not been the least remarkable, the least edifying, or the least gratifying, of the various features characterising their emergence in this, and many another, unexpected province to which I might refer. Indeed, there would appear to be a considerable body of evidence at hand pointing to the existence of an almost universal conspiracy in favour of freedom and liberty on national lines. Thus, the humane and ingenuous Autocrat of all the Russias has recently proclaimed the autonomy of Poland. It is true—if report lies not—that he, some years ago, confided his scruples

and his aspirations in respect of that nation to the President of the French, who cannot but have been mightily moved and edified thereby. It is notorious, however, that pious intentions of this kind take a long time to mature. The bowels of the English democracy, according to Mr Redmond, have long yearned towards a free gift of Home Rule to the Irish—yet is that benefaction still on the knees of the gods, though nothing is more clear than that that democracy is not less master in its own house than is the Tsar so in his. The southern parts of Austria-Hungary, we are told, are to be lopped off, and new Slav States will arise out of them, if the fortunes of war result in favour of the Triple *Entente*. Moreover, in the same event, the lines of the respective marches of the various Balkan States are to be recast, in accordance with the racial aspirations of the several peoples inhabiting those parts. France is to get back Alsace-Lorraine, together with her ancient frontier as far as the Rhine. Italy, in return for her present policy of "wait and see," is to be rewarded with the slice of the Adriatic littoral which she covets and lays claims to, on racial grounds. Thus—omitting such minor changes as policy may now dictate, or generosity or interest may hereafter suggest—is the map of Europe to be reconstructed, in the event of the neo-feudalism of Germany and her ally being routed in the field, and so forced to withdraw from the contest which the excessive armaments of the Great Powers have criminally provoked.¹

¹ For many years past the Great Powers have been acting as men who should go about to raise a mighty stack of arms. One by one, and year by year, has each added his quota to the threatening mass,

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What, on the other hand, Germany is prepared to do, by way of reconstructing the map of Europe on racial lines, in the event of her chastising the *Entente*, there would appear to be no certain means of knowing. The journals published in these isles seem to be the victims of so rigorous and strict a censorship that we cannot reasonably expect anything to come through the close meshes of that net, save reports of German-Austrian reverses, and stories of the incredible barbarity of the Teuton. Moreover, the situation in this respect is further obscured by the fact that the German Emperor has been certified by the London *Daily Mail* to be mad, in consequence of a malignant growth that he has in his brain. It is to be presumed, however, that before the war-lord of the "modern Huns" entered the field, his mind was sufficiently clear to enable him to draw up some plan for the reconstruction of the European map, in the event of the complete success of his arms. It is possible, nay, it is highly probable, too, that the German scheme (assuming that it exists) is likewise designed to consult national boundaries and racial aspirations, even though it should incidentally involve the removal of the gallant and promising kingdom of Belgium. It is conceivable, too, that any territorial extension gained by Germany at the expense of France and the French arms, would be sought to be justified by the conquerors by means of a reference to history, in which the German people are particularly learned; for it is on record that when, in the year 1522, until the latter, grown top-heavy (as every foreseeing mind prophesied that it must inevitably do), has fallen with a crash, burying principalities and peoples beneath its hideous ruin.

the King of the French was preparing to attack the Emperor Charles V., the former published a manifesto in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, he stated that both were descended from the same ancestors.¹

In any event—whatever the result of the present war—the prospects of the cause of nationalism and racialism seem to be good, and the ends of that creed in a fair way to be served. Such a belly-full of fighting as the Great Powers are now getting, in consequence of their criminal propensity to arms and to bloated armaments, is like to exhaust and to disgust them for many years to come after the existing *imbroglio* shall have been fought to a finish. Celt, Slav, Teuton, Latin, and Hun have each to preserve, or to acquire, his due place in the sun. There is room, and to spare, in Europe for all the racial entities in which its hegemony presently consists. The old notions underlying the doctrine of the "Balance of Power"—notions and maxims of State which derive their sanction from Cæsarism and their application from the imperialistic ideas bequeathed to Europe by the Roman Empire—are already in process of rapid decay, if, indeed, fate and recent events have not conspired to accomplish their more speedy dissolution by unceremoniously consigning them to the melting-pot. Out of the wreck and the ruin

¹ The *Temps* states, doubtless on excellent authority, that German diplomacy is promising Bessarabia to Roumania, a slice of Servian Macedonia to Bulgaria, Chios and Mitylene to the Greek kingdom, and Salonica to the Porte, if only they will respectively assist the Austro-German alliance and secure its triumph. Thus are Mr Codlin and Herr Short equal friends to the cause of the "little nationalities" of Europe. What happy harmony!

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wrought by the existing regime of "Blood and Iron," there will assuredly arise a new Europe—a Europe which will seek to preserve the balance of its component parts, not, as formerly, by means of the refinements of Cæsarism, and the appeals and subterfuges of armed expediency, but through the instrumentality of a frank recognition of nationalism, and the safeguards against war derived from the adequate satisfaction of the racial aspiration.

R. ERSKINE.



The Province and the Land'



JOHN STUART MILL was right. "Small reforms do not produce small results: they produce no results." Nowhere perhaps is the truth of that statement emphasised more forcibly than in connection with land legislation. In the realm of land reform tinkering remedies are generally useless. Even the Small Holdings (Scotland) Act—the boldest and most democratic of recent reform schemes—has failed, in one respect at least, to fulfil the expectations of Scottish reformers. The Land Court has dealt out even-handed justice between laird and tenant, and many hard-working crofters have had their burdens lightened considerably as a result of the decisions of Lord Kennedy and his colleagues. Never again will the enterprising agriculturist have cause to complain—as did one burly crofter at a recent sitting of the Land Court—that "aye as we took in anither acre the Laird clappit on anither note." So far as the creation of new holdings is concerned, however, the fruits of the Land Act have not been by any means so refreshing—and this not because those who framed the Rural Workers' Charter attempted too much, but because they dared too

¹ In the following paper, the author is to be understood as contributing an official stone to the foundations of the cairn of modern constructive Celtic policy.—Ed., *The Scottish Review*.

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little. Recent compensation awards show that the creation of small holdings may after all be a much more profitable business for the land-owner than for either the crofters or the State. Just the other day, for example, Lady Gordon-Cathcart was awarded £13,000 as compensation for the injury that will be done to her property in South Uist by the conversion of three farms into small holdings. It is obvious that if compensation is to be given on this scale, it will be altogether impossible for the Board of Agriculture to create new holdings on sound economic lines. What has come to be known as the Lindean Arbitration Case was, of course, another instance of the application of the same vicious principle. The South Uist award, however, is even more significant, as one of the biggest items in the bill relates to the deterioration in the sporting value of the estate by the creation of small holdings. In the felicitous language of the arbiter, South Uist has become "a Sanctuary for wild geese and other wild fowl"—and for laying violent hands upon it, the people of Scotland, as represented by the Board of Agriculture, must needs pay the piper. What matter though the "Sanctuary" was made by clearing men and women off the little island and shipping them across the Atlantic? Before South Uist can be repopled, the successor of the man who was responsible for the clearances must be compensated for the interference with the "Sanctuary"! It is scarcely surprising that Scottish land reformers are not enamoured of schemes for the provision of small holdings on such terms. If the desolate glens of Scotland are to be repopled and the land question dealt with on sound business-like principles, more

efficient and thorough-going methods must be adopted. The purpose of this brief contribution to the discussion of the Scottish Land problem is to suggest a "more excellent way" of approaching what is undoubtedly a vast and complicated subject.

That there is urgent need for a bold and comprehensive scheme of land reform in Scotland will scarcely be disputed even by the most purblind supporters of the existing order. "Facts are chieles that winna ding, and downa be disputed," and the census and emigration statistics are ominous and disquieting. The census of 1911 showed that in nearly every rural district in Scotland—more particularly in the North—the population is declining. Nay more. In Argyllshire, Berwickshire, Perthshire, and Sutherlandshire the population is not only less than it was in 1891, but is actually less than in 1801! The following are the official statistics of the number of persons engaged in Scottish agriculture in 1901 and 1911 respectively:

1901		1911	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
169,130	40,581	165,689	33,057

In the ten years—1901 to 1911—the number of male agriculturists has thus decreased by 3441, or 2.03 per cent., and the number of females by 7524, or 18.54 per cent. In other words there has been a net decline in Scotland's agricultural population of 10,965—5.23 per cent.

It is no doubt true that improvements in machinery are responsible to a certain extent for this depletion of the rural population. The modern reaper does the work of a score of men and women, only the driver of

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the horses and a solitary "stooker" being required instead of a largely augmented staff of farm-workers. But at other seasons of the year and at other rural tasks — seed-time, the clearing of the ground for turnips, turnip-hoeing, leading, ploughing, storing and carting home the turnips, tending the horses and cattle, and the numerous little odd jobs that constitute the farm-labourer's daily round — the improvement in machinery during the period covered by the census table has not materially affected the number of hands required on the average Scottish farm. That, I think, will not be seriously disputed by those who are familiar with the position of agricultural affairs in Scotland to-day. The farm-workers' duties have been lightened, of course, but not to an extent commensurate with the reduction that has taken place in the rural population during the past ten or twenty years. The conclusion is irresistible: the decline in population which the census figures reveal is due to the inherent evils of our Scottish land system rather than to the introduction of labour-saving machinery by the farmers. And though the tide of emigration may have ebbed somewhat during the past summer and winter, the drain of the best blood and sinew of the rural districts is still sufficiently serious.

The emigration which represents simply the outflow of surplus population—like the "swarming" of bees in early summer—is a sign of healthy and vigorous national life; but the desolation of Scottish straths and glens and the flight across the seas of the men and women who should have cultivated them is an ominous symptom of national decadence.

Such then is the situation with which Scottish land

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reformers are confronted to-day: the threatened breakdown of the machinery of the Scottish Land Act, so far as the creation of new holdings is concerned; the extension of the "sanctuaries" devoted to sport;¹ and the continuous decline in the population of the rural districts.

There is a growing consensus of opinion among Scottish reformers that before the land question can be satisfactorily dealt with it will be necessary to get down to rock-bottom principles, and that future legislation must be based on the theory that the land of Scotland ought to belong to the people of Scotland. Only by steadfast adherence to that principle can the quagmires with which Scottish land legislation is threatened be avoided. Common ownership of land is no novel or fantastic theory. It was the basis of social life in Celtic Scotland under the early tribal system, but the conditions under which public control may be best re-established demand careful scrutiny.

Rather more than two years ago a notable report on the English land system was issued by a Joint Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Haversham—a report which deserves a better fate than permanent seclusion in a musty pigeon-hole. The most important recommendation of the Committee was that the State should make a business of the acquisition and management of landed estates. The Committee, it will be re-

¹ These "sanctuaries" of course are not confined to the island haunts of the wild geese and wild fowl. In the crofting counties the area devoted to deer forests has been nearly doubled during the past thirty years—1883, 1,709,892 acres; 1908, 2,958,490 acres—*Parliamentary Paper*, 220, 1908.

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called, found very little evidence that the tenant farmers of England desired to purchase their holdings—and that is equally true of the farmers north of the Tweed. What they want is security of tenure. The report referred to compared the merits and demerits of a scheme of State-aided purchase with a scheme of tenancies direct from the State, and summed up very strongly in favour of the latter. The tenant purchaser, buying only a few acres, has generally to pay too much for his land. Even although the State were to advance four-fifths of the purchase money, he would still have to invest some capital in the land—capital often very badly needed for the development of the farm. Finally, in the event of death, realisation is difficult. The State, on the other hand, can buy large areas of land, and, what is even more important, it can buy at its own time. The land would thus be obtained at a cheaper rate than the small holder can hope to buy it, and it could then be let at a comparatively small rent. A tenant holding from the State would enjoy complete security of tenure, and “would be free and untrammelled to apply his capital to his business, which is farming and not land-owning.” For these reasons the Committee recommended State ownership and State tenancy rather than State-aided purchase. That recommendation seems to me to be largely on the right lines, but not wholly so. The proposal is sound so far as it is based on the public ownership of the land, but a fuller recognition of the principle of local control is necessary before such a scheme could be carried to a successful issue.

Public ownership of the land must form the bedrock of social reform in Scotland as well as in England.

For my own part, however, I am strongly inclined to the view that this eminently desirable reform will be accomplished not by a sweeping scheme on national lines but by the extension of the powers of local authorities to acquire and hold land in the public interest. That the State, as representing the people, shall exercise suzerainty over the land must, of course, be accepted as the basis of any really democratic scheme of reform, but for administrative purposes a much smaller unit is essential in the interests of both efficiency and economy.

Few people, after all, are enamoured of the bureaucratic State. Certain huge monopolies such as the Post Office and railways can be administered best on national lines, but in nearly all our other great public enterprises local control is the keynote of efficiency and success. The gradual acquisition of land by local authorities is, moreover, in harmony both with our national traditions and with the trend of modern thought.

There is a growing revolt to-day against Imperialism and Cæsarism and centralised ideas of government, as opposed to local autonomy or control. A phase of this revolt is seen in the tendency to decentralisation. Home Rule is but a symptom of that feeling—not an end in itself. More and more powers are being conferred on local authorities. Delegated authority is springing up all around us. Educational affairs, the National Insurance scheme, the Old Age Pensions scheme—all these depend for their success on local administrative control. There is probably no department, however, in which decentralisation is more necessary than in matters

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pertaining to the land. It is but natural and proper that, in this case, "local authority" should be vested with ample powers and encouraged to use those powers to the best advantage of the locality, and so ultimately of the State. "Efficiency and Economy," which should be the watchwords of every public body, are more likely to be considered by the authority *in situ* than they are by the State.

Having accepted the principle of local rather than State control, the question naturally arises: To what public body shall the important duty of administering the land affairs be entrusted? Obviously the Parish Councils are much too small for work such as that. While a rigidly uniform system in the different districts is neither necessary nor desirable, administration by the Parish Councils would be apt to produce rather heterogeneous results. Moreover, such a system would be both costly and cumbersome. There remain, therefore, but two other courses: either the County Councils must be empowered to acquire land and hold it in the public interest, or an entirely new authority must be created for this purpose. For County Council administration there is admittedly something to be said. The Councils, each representing a recognised and well-defined area, are already in existence, and the necessity for creating new machinery would thus be obviated. Certainly a tangible advantage that. On the other hand, it must be reluctantly admitted that the County Councils are not, as a rule, particularly progressive bodies. Many of the members of these boards, I know, have splendid records of public service. Their disinterested labours are a credit to the public life of

Scotland. One must not blind oneself, however, to the fact that the County Councils, with scarcely a single exception, are composed of the larger farmers in the district, with a considerable sprinkling of lairds and factors.

I think it may safely be said that while Scotland, as represented by its members of Parliament, is overwhelmingly Liberal—even Radical—the Conservatives predominate in most of our County Councils. It is scarcely surprising then though land reformers should hesitate before entrusting to such bodies the inauguration and administration of a reform scheme on which so much depends. Moreover, as one star differs from another in brilliance and magnitude, so also do the various counties differ in regard to area. Perthshire with its 2543 square miles is sufficiently large for administrative purposes, on sound economic lines. In the smaller counties, however, such as Linlithgow, with an area of 124 square miles, Kinross and Clackmannan, whose combined area is not a whit larger, and Buteshire, which contains some 204 square miles—the county as the administrative unit is scarcely likely to prove so successful.

In respect of economy and efficient administration, I am convinced that much more satisfactory results could be obtained by a grouping of the various counties on carefully thought-out lines. That is why, on the whole, I favour what may be termed the Celtic scheme of land reform with the Province as the administrative area. The Provinces would be sufficiently large to ensure economic administration, and at the same time not so vast and unwieldy as to give rise to the too familiar evils of bureaucracy.

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There is no need, of course, to delay the acquisition of land by public bodies until Scots Home Rule has become an accomplished fact. That is neither necessary nor desirable. At the same time, when the first Parliament meets in Edinburgh—the first, that is to say, since the end of the “Auld Sang” some two centuries ago—the members might profitably turn their attention to the reconstruction of the old Celtic provinces, and thus lay the foundation of a democratic and far-reaching scheme of land reform. There are those who urge that the recreated provinces might well replace the counties for all administrative purposes. That is an aspect of the question which merits very full and careful consideration; meanwhile, all I urge is that for the purposes of land administration the province is likely to prove a much more convenient and satisfactory area than the county.

In putting forward this scheme, it is not necessary to go into the question of land tenure under the old Celtic system. Briefly, and in passing, that system may be described as the usual tribal one with certain national and local peculiarities. In the tribal State all lands were originally held in common.¹ The story of

¹ The comments of Cæsar, Tacitus, and Solinus are of course familiar to every student of history, and show quite conclusively that Scotland at the dawn of civilisation was the home of “an aggregate of tribes occupying the land in common, and whose chief possessions consisted of cattle.” Mr W. F. Skene, whose *Celtic Scotland* is one of the most trustworthy as well as one of the most fascinating studies of this by-gone age, thus describes the primitive form of social organisation which was common to Celtic Scotland as well as to Ireland: “Private property in land did not exist at first but emerged from a right of common property vested in the community. Personal

how Scotland was transformed from a land where the right to the soil was common to all to a nation of lairds and labourers and "tenant bodies scant o' cash" is an interesting one—much more instructive than the more familiar record of the making and unmaking of kings—but it does not strictly belong to the subject under discussion. My purpose in referring to the social structure of Celtic Scotland is rather to recall the area and arrangement of the provinces which it is proposed to recreate.

In or about the year 800, the Pictish Monarchy appears to have been divided into seven leading provinces. According to the legend, these seven provinces were ruled over by the seven sons of Cruithne, the fabulous eponymous of the Pictish race.¹

property or individual property in movables there was, but real property or individual property on the soil is of much later origin, and is an excrescence on the common use or property of the land occupied by the tribe, and is inconsistent with its original constitution.

... The social unit was not the individual or the family, but the community or the tribe. . . . The older tenure by which the land was held was that by the tribe in common."

¹ It is unnecessary to attach much importance to this legend, which like others of the kind, was doubtless a late invention put forward to account for the fact of the seven leading divisions of the Pictish Kingdom; but a word or two may be permitted in passing as to this interesting appearance of the "mystic number." The Celts, like other Western peoples, had a curious partiality for the number seven. Many instances of this might be given. Other nations and peoples have shown a partiality for certain numbers. Among the Tartars, for example, Nine was regarded as the favourite number. The ancient Egyptians considered Four as particularly lucky. Among the Persians Seven and Twelve appear to have enjoyed high favour. This latter partiality was doubtless based on the fact of the seven planets and the twelve zodiacal

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These seven original provinces were: Fife, Marr, Atholl, Moray, Mearns, Menteith, and Caithness, but it is worthy of remark that each of the provinces was associated with or "balanced" by another. Thus Marr and Buchan were grouped together, Menteith and Strathearn, Moray and Ross, and so on. This arrangement was made in accordance with the distinguishing principle of the Celtic system, which was what is termed the "balance of power," the idea being that one province should act as a kind of balance or check on the other. This singular arrangement characterised the Celtic religious, political, and social arrangements throughout, and it is this peculiar arrangement which distinguishes the Celtic tribal system from that of other people.

In proposing the partition of Scotland into provinces for land purposes—as well as for other public services, if that were considered desirable—it is not necessary to follow the Celtic plan of the balance of power. Economy and convenience alike require that the marches of the existing shires shall be followed as nearly as possible. Fortunately the marches of the old provinces, whether singly or in their double form, coincide in many cases with those of the modern shires. In preparing the accompanying map this fortunate circumstance has been taken advantage of as far as possible. The broken pieces of counties which, under the feudal shire system,

signs; *seven* days in the week, *twelve* months in the year; *seven* cervical vertebræ, *twelve* dorsal; and so on. The "*seven* grades of existence" and the *seven* prophetic cycles of Persian philosophy and religion are manifestations of the same partiality. There are, too, the Seven Provinces of Gaul, and the Saxon Heptarchy.

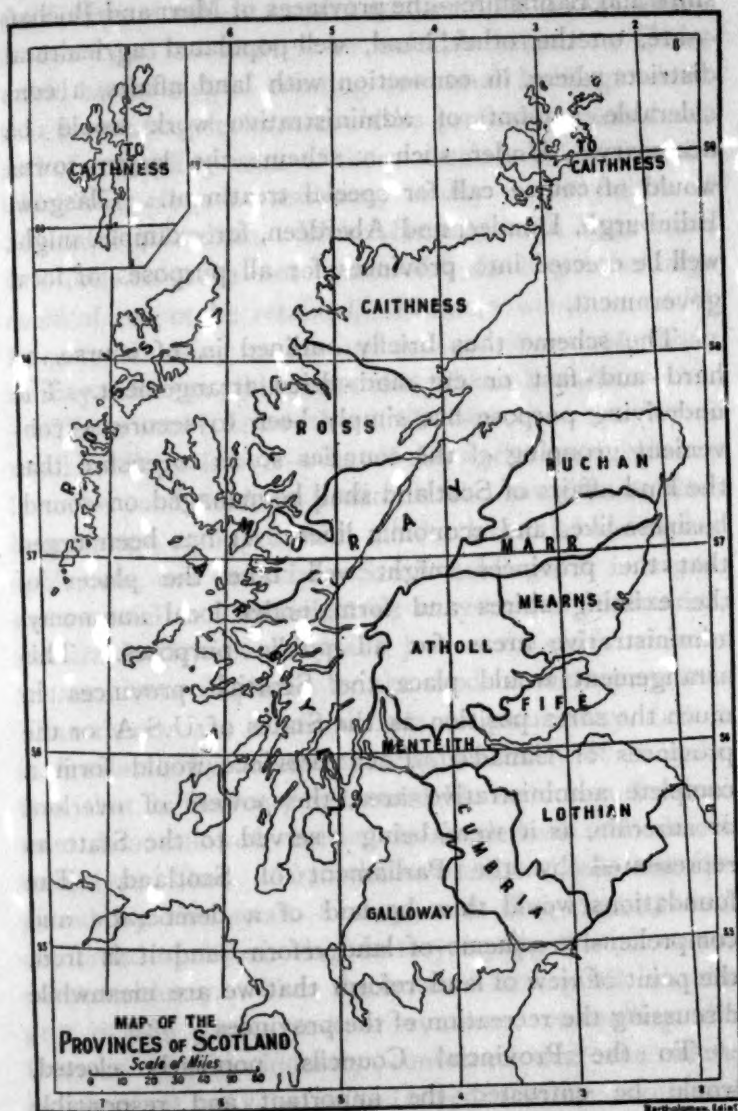
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obtrude into others and make for much confusion and increased expense in their public working, have been abolished and the old provinces reduced to as few in number as it is thought would prove to be consistent with the effective and economical working of the local government of the kingdom. A glance at the map will show that the suggested partition is on the following lines:—

Provinces.	Shires.
1. Caithness . . .	Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney, and Shetland.
2. Ross . . .	Ross, Cromarty, and the Outer Hebrides.
3. Moray . . .	Inverness (including Skye), Nairn, and Elgin.
4. Buchan . . .	Banff and Aberdeen north of the Don.
5. Marr . . .	Aberdeen, between Dee and Don.
6. Mearns . . .	Forfar and Kincardine.
7. Atholl . . .	Perth.
8. Fife . . .	Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan.
9. Menteith . . .	Stirling and Dumbarton.
10. Argyll . . .	Argyll (including the Argyllshire Islands) and Bute and Arran.
11. Galloway . . .	Renfrew, Ayr, Wigtown, and Kirkcudbright.
12. Cumbria . . .	Lanark and Dumfries.
13. Lothian . . .	Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, Peebles, Berwick, Selkirk, and Roxburgh.

It will be observed that the marches of the old provinces have not been rigidly adhered to, the general idea being rather to secure a convenient grouping of the counties for administrative purposes. An excellent feature of the Provincial arrangement is that, as a rule, the sparser the population the bigger the area. The province of Moray, for example, includes vast tracts of uncultivated land in Inverness-shire where afforestation rather than agriculture would probably be the principal feature of the scheme of social reconstruction. Aberdeen-

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shire and Banffshire—the provinces of Marr and Buchan—are, on the other hand, well-populated agricultural districts where, in connection with land affairs, a considerable amount of administrative work would be necessary. Under such a scheme the larger towns would of course call for special treatment. Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen, for example, might well be erected into provinces for all purposes of local government.

The scheme thus briefly outlined is, of course, no hard-and-fast or cut-and-dried arrangement. The underlying purpose has simply been to secure a convenient grouping of the counties so as to ensure that the land affairs of Scotland shall be managed on sound, business-like, and economic lines. It has been urged that the provinces might well take the places of the existing shires and form, under local autonomy, administrative areas for all public purposes. This arrangement would place the Scottish provinces in much the same position as the States of U.S.A. or the provinces of Canada. Each province would form a complete administrative area, the powers of overlord or suzerain, as it were, being reserved to the State as represented by the Parliament of Scotland. The foundations would thus be laid of a democratic and comprehensive scheme of land reform, and it is from the point of view of land reform that we are meanwhile discussing the recreation of the provinces.

To the Provincial Councils, popularly elected, would be entrusted the important and responsible task of reconstructing the land system of Scotland. They would be empowered—under the supervision of

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the Government—to acquire and hold land in the public interest, and to lease it to suitable tenants. Theirs would be the task of creating new small holdings where that form of agriculture could be profitably carried on, and of repeopling some of those desolate Scottish glens which bear eloquent testimony to-day to the failure of Scottish landlordism. Where farming on a large scale was likely to prove most successful, the larger holdings could of course be retained. Farmers would no doubt be quite as willing to become tenants of a public body as they are to pay big rents to a private landowner.

There are, I know, those who say that the day of small holdings is over—that if the agricultural industry is to be conducted on profitable and progressive lines large farms, equipped with all the latest labour-saving appliances, are essential. Small holdings, it is urged, are wasteful and inefficient as a system of husbandry, and are destined to disappear, just as the old hand-loom weavers were displaced by the modern factory system. That theory has a certain air of plausibility, but it is, I submit, by no means a sound one. It is quite true that in ordinary industrial life economic development has followed certain clearly defined and almost stereotyped lines. First, the isolated workman was displaced by the small factory; the little factory was swallowed up by the big factory equipped with up-to-date machinery. Then the isolated factory fell into the grip of the great trust or syndicate controlling the fortunes of the industry concerned over the whole kingdom—it may be indeed over a whole continent. The case of agriculture, however, scarcely forms an exact parallel. The concentration of the weaving

industry into a few hands has enabled the great factory owner to multiply his powers of production a hundred-fold; but the large farmer who rents or owns his thousands of acres cannot grow a hundred crops for every one that is grown by the farmer who can boast of only a "one-horse show." Indeed the small holder who understands the meaning of intensive cultivation can very often, by careful husbandry, beat the big farmer on his own grounds. The introduction of the power-loom enabled a wee slip of a girl to do as much work as fifty skilled weavers could formerly have done; but there is not the least likelihood that the onward march of invention will ever enable the large farmer to produce even two crops of calves a year while his poorer rival must perforce rest content with one. Nature refuses to be hustled in that fashion. Here again the big farmer and the little farmer compete on practically equal terms. Even in the matter of agricultural machinery—apart perhaps from harvesting—the odds are remarkably even. And here perhaps the reader will pardon a slight digression in order that I may note a remarkable tendency in the march of modern invention.

It is of course a truism to say that a hundred years ago the effect of the inventions that were then revolutionising industry was to load the dice very heavily in favour of the big manufacturer. To-day the tendency of invention is to reverse that process and lessen the handicap on the "small man." Let me illustrate what I mean by some details. In recent years eminent engineers have devoted their inventive ingenuity towards producing an engine which shall be at once light, strong, and

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neither bulky nor over-costly. What is known as the petrol motor—a development of the internal combustion engine—has been the result. It is this engine, occupying but a small corner in a motorcar, but representing all the same a working power equal to twenty to fifty horses, that enables the scorching motorist to sweep across the country at a speed almost rivalling that of an express train. This it is too that has enabled daring airmen to fly across the North Sea, and threaten the supremacy of the eagle in his kingdom of the air. This engine, originally developed for sporting purposes, has immense possibilities before it. Its application to industry, in the wider sense of the word, is only just beginning, although many progressive farmers have already discovered that with the installation of an internal combustion engine—adapted of course for agricultural and industrial purposes—they are able to compete on practically equal terms, so far as machinery is concerned, with the wealthier farmer who can boast an expensive steam threshing machine. Indeed, a distinguished engineer declared recently that if cheap motive power had been available a hundred years ago in the sense that it is to-day, the hand-loom weaver—in whom the artistic and creative faculties were much more highly developed than they are in his successors—would not so readily have fallen a victim in the industrial revolution. Be that as it may, I think my point in regard to agricultural machinery is perfectly clear, and there is no need to hammer it out unduly after the manner of the old Scots minister who “dang doon twa poopits and drave the guts oot o’ three Bibles” during his pastorate of a certain rural church. The point is

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this: that neither in regard to machinery nor yet in regard to the amount of capital invested in his holding does the big farmer possess very striking advantages over the tenant of a holding of 20 to 50 acres. The balance, on the whole, is perhaps in favour of the capitalist farmer, but not to the extent of enabling him to crush out his smaller rivals after the manner of the great cotton spinners of a century ago. Indeed for market gardening in the vicinity of big industrial centres, the small holding is very often a sounder business venture than the large farm.

From the point of view of the private landowner—the landowner that is to say who manages his estate on a purely commercial basis—the drawback to small holdings is admittedly the larger cost involved in the erection and maintenance of houses for the crofters and byres for their cattle. Rather than incur that additional expenditure the landowners adopt the selfish and short-sighted policy of adding field to field in defiance of the Scriptural ban. Just the other day the writer had occasion to visit an agricultural district in Upper Donside—a district which is prominently identified with a stirring period of Scottish history. Standing by the ruins of the old castle and looking down the valley, one could see many indications of the clearance of crofters that had taken place. It is no exaggeration to say that in that “howe” alone over a score of crofters’ and cottars’ houses have been razed to the ground within the lifetime of the present generation. When the houses became dilapidated, the crofts were promptly added to adjoining farms to save the cost of building

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new houses for the labourers and their families. That Donside parish is typical of many others throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. The Small Holdings Act has, it is true, done something to check the worst of these abuses, but not all that ought to be done.

The policy of adding croft to croft, though it profits the landowner, may prove a ruinous venture for the State. Put in a nutshell, the claim for small holdings, which overshadows all minor questions of profit and loss, is that men and women are the most valuable crop that a nation can cultivate. Small holdings provide admirable conditions for growing that crop—for building up a vigorous and healthy rural population. Writing on this matter in the *Labour Leader* some time ago, Mr Edward Carpenter put the case for small holdings very effectively :—

“It is all very well to urge large municipal and State farms run in a wholesale, official style. In certain cases such things would be very useful and valuable. But to suppose that all agriculture is to be reduced to this one monotonous form seems to me absurd. Actually a better result is often got, as Kropotkin points out, in flowers and vegetables when the holdings are small, because of the individual and personal attention necessary for that kind of produce. And as to personal enterprise and responsibility, these are not things to be discouraged. *We want good human crops as well as good crops of produce ; and some of the best sort of men are grown on small holdings*—handy, capable men, able to turn their hands to all sorts of work, and enjoying freedom of invention and initiative such as they could

not have on larger and public undertakings. I find some of the best all-round men in this parish belong to this class."

All that is equally true of rural life north of the Border, and that is why I urge so strongly that small holdings occupy an important and legitimate place in rural economy. That is why I urge that in the reconstruction of our agricultural system, under the Provincial Councils, crofts and small holdings, as well as large farms, ought to find a place. A holding of 15 or 20 acres gives a start to many young men who lack the capital to stock a larger farm, and the smaller crofts are quickly snapped up by the rural labourers and artisans.

As a Scottish crofter's son I know full well the hard, strenuous work that life on a small holding entails, but many of these crofts are occupied to-day by labourers who, in their declining years, are no longer fit for a full day's darg on the farm, while many other labourers have brought up under such conditions large families of strappin' lads and bonnie lassies—the real backbone of the nation.

But the duties of the provincial councils with regard to agriculture would not end with the leasing of the holdings to suitable tenants. Much might be done by the promotion of rural co-operative societies to improve the position of agriculturists—particularly the small holders. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has already done excellent work in that direction, and yet it has scarcely done more than touch the fringe of a big problem. It has succeeded, however, in showing something of what can be accomplished by associated

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effort in the realm of agriculture. It has enabled the small holder to purchase seeds, manure, and farm implements on as profitable terms as the large farmer who has a few hundred pounds to spend. It has enabled the crofters in the remote islands to sell their eggs and poultry direct to the city consumers, thus securing the middlemen's profits to themselves. Sir Arthur C. Orde, speaking some two years ago at a meeting of the natives of Uist and Barra resident in Glasgow, said that in the case of the Orkneys the money received every year by their own co-operative societies exceeded the total rental of the islands. The co-operative societies had also enabled the crofters to obtain their household requirements at a much cheaper rate than they had to pay formerly to the shopkeepers in the district. In all these directions there is a big field for co-operative enterprise in agriculture. Something might also be done by the establishment of co-operative land banks to enable the small farmers to secure at a cheap rate the capital necessary for the proper development of their holdings. Those who are familiar with the good work of the land banks on the Continent will readily realise the possibilities in a movement of this kind.

I have left almost to the last the financial questions involved by this land restoration scheme, but that is not because I under-rate their importance. Far from it. The financial aspect of the problem is of vital moment. I can quite conceive of a scheme of restoration which would profit the landowners even more than it would the nation. Some of the ventures of the public authorities in the realm of land purchase bear eloquent

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testimony to the truth of that statement. The land at Rosyth was bought at 85 years' purchase on the rating valuation. In 1901 the War Office paid a sum equivalent to 240 years' purchase for 50 acres of land at Kilcreggan. Mr James Dundas White, LL.D., M.P., pointed out some time ago that for 10 acres of land and $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres of foreshore near Greenock for a torpedo factory the Admiralty had to give £27,225. "Yet the foreshore was treated as of no value in the Valuation Roll, and the 10 acres formed part of a property of 48 acres which, as a whole, was entered on the Valuation Roll as of an annual value of £75. So that the price of these acres which were purchased works out at 16 centuries' purchase, compared with their annual valuation." Mr Dundas White also added that "The Edinburgh Water Trust had to pay 136 years' purchase for one piece of land; the Clyde Trust had to pay 435 years' purchase for another; the Old Kilpatrick School Board had to pay at the rate of more than 500 years' purchase for 2 acres of agricultural land wanted for educational purposes; and in the case of Cathcart the price of an acre and a half amounted to more than 900 years' purchase as compared with the annual value as stated in the Valuation Roll."

It is obvious that land restoration brought about in that fashion would be a costly business for the nation. Either the prices were preposterously high or the valuations preposterously low—quite possibly both. In any case it is obvious that a reform of the system of rating and valuation must accompany or precede any scheme of land restoration based on purchase. Agricultural and sporting estates have been sold in Scotland recently

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at as low as fifteen years' rental,¹ and it should not be difficult to arrive at an equitable arrangement for the transfer of the land required on some such basis. I lay down no hard-and-fast figures, of course, but simply urge that before the public authorities can acquire land on profitable terms an equitable standard of valuation is essential.

Given such a standard, the Scottish Provincial Councils would be able to proceed with the acquisition of land to be subsequently let to suitable tenants. The State might then be reasonably asked to contribute even to the extent of three or four millions every year towards enabling the Provincial Councils to purchase great farms and estates where agriculture in Scotland could be developed and afforestation encouraged.

Only by a bold and comprehensive scheme on these lines can abuses and anomalies such as those which have arisen in South Uist be obviated. Compensation for the loss of sporting sanctuaries would not arise where the estates were purchased outright at a price based on a stipulated number of years' valuation. Public doles to landowners for the erection of houses to agricultural labourers—a vicious and pernicious system at best—would then be uncalled for. Years of patient effort, and much careful administrative work may be necessary before the land of Scotland is restored to the people of Scotland as represented by the Provincial Councils or other public authorities, but it is a task

¹ At the sale of the Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire estates of the Earl of Kintore at Aberdeen on 5th and 6th August, good agricultural holdings were knocked down at prices ranging from fifteen to eighteen years' rental.

which must be undertaken. The reorganisation of the Scottish land system, the resuscitation of agriculture, the re-peopling of the desolate Highland glens—these are the ideals which Scottish social reformers must set before themselves. The call is urgent, for over the portals of modern Scottish landlordism are written the fateful words: "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin"—"Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting."

WILLIAM DIACK.



Banks and Banking



ANKING in Scotland has no legal history prior to 1695. In that year the Act of the Scots Parliament (17th July 1695) then sitting at Edinburgh was passed, incorporating the Bank of Scotland as a joint stock bank, with the exclusive privilege of banking for twenty-one years, a privilege not originally granted to the Bank of England. The privilege was not renewed at the expiry of the above period. The subscribers to the joint stock, which amounted to £1,200,000 Scots (equal to £100,000 sterling), were declared to be one body corporat and politick by the name of the "Governor and Company of the Bank of Scotland." This was the first known instance in the world of a company being established by private persons for the carrying on and management of a public bank, wholly unconnected with the State and dependent upon its own capital. It was largely owing to the masterly skill in financial affairs of John Holland, a famous London merchant, that the proposal to establish a bank in Scotland was carried to a successful issue. It is an interesting fact to learn that while this worthy Englishman helped very materially to "found" the Bank of Scotland, it was a well-known Scotsman, William Paterson, who, perhaps more than any other person,

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was responsible for the scheme which "created" the Bank of England in the previous year.

The Bank of Scotland was incorporated for the express purpose of fostering the trade of Scotland and developing her industries. At the time, trade was uncertain and unsettled, and the country was undeveloped. The agricultural industry was at a low ebb, and the condition of affairs was accentuated by the non-recovery of the finances of the nation through devastating wars. The powers of the bank were limited to "the trade of lending and borrowing money upon interest, and negotiating bills of exchange alienably and no other." This provision still subsists and governs the powers of that bank. When at first incorporated, the Bank of Scotland did not conduct that profitable part of banking business, the receiving of money on deposit. At first it merely lent its capital, issued notes, and discounted bills of exchange. For the first twenty-nine years of its existence the bank paid dividends averaging 17 per cent. In 1713, and for three years thereafter, dividends at the rate of 30 per cent. were paid. Such high dividends naturally aroused the desire of other companies to share in the lucrative profits of Scottish banking. Overtures were made to the Bank of Scotland by various companies for admission or amalgamation, but the directors of the Bank resisted all their overtures.

At present banking in Scotland is principally conducted by eight incorporated or joint stock banks, all of them being banks of issue. While it is unnecessary to specially refer to the foundation of all these banks, or to consider the many other banks, public and private, that

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have carried on business in Scotland from time to time, it is worthy of note that three, viz., the Royal Bank, the British Linen Bank, and the Commercial Bank owe their existence to the demand for change in the banking conditions ruling at the date of their respective inceptions. For several years after their incorporation in 1719, the directors of the Equivalent Company endeavoured without success to get the directors of the Bank of Scotland to amalgamate with them. Their overtures in this direction being frustrated, they then commenced to agitate for an extension of their powers so as to include banking, and in 1727 a charter was granted to such of their number as chose to subscribe their stock into a new company, whereby they were incorporated as the Royal Bank of Scotland. The success of the new bank was immediate. It received the support of the Government. One reason assigned for the rapidity of the success of the Royal Bank was that in previous years the directors of the Bank of Scotland had shown only too plainly their leanings towards the Stuart cause, and thus earned the disfavour of the supporters of the Hanoverian succession.

The British Linen Company was incorporated shortly after Culloden and the failure of the Jacobite rising. The company was formed to foster the linen industry in Scotland. At first it did no banking business, but as their business in the linen trade gradually increased, banking was added as a necessary adjunct, and ultimately as we now know, its sole business.

To those who argue that we have now reached that stage in the natural development of our economic conditions when some material change is necessary in

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existing banking conditions, whereby credit can be obtained on easier terms for use in productive purposes, a consideration of the main initial factor connected with the incorporation of the Commercial Bank is instructive.

The Commercial Bank of Scotland was founded in 1810. The necessity for this bank arose on account of the conditions of the times, and from the fact that the then existing chartered banks did not cater for the wants of the commercial people, whose needs were supplied by the private bankers. For some years prior to 1810, the private bankers were for the most part directors of the old chartered banks, and the business of the private trader had to percolate to the chartered banks, through the private bankers. Controlling as they did the chartered banks, these private bankers would not give facilities to the small trader, except on their own terms; and having a seat on the Board of the larger banks, they would decline to allow these banks to give facilities to traders which they would allow in their own capacity of private bankers. It is probably well for the prosperity of Scotland that the Commercial Bank of Scotland came into existence at the time it did, for the reason that for some time prior to its incorporation, a system of speculation, which in after years brought disaster to the Western Bank and the City of Glasgow Bank on the part of the chartered banks, to the neglect of the purposes for which they were established was manifesting itself. The Government funds were then, on account of the distressed state of the country, at a low price. These funds were bought up by the banks to a considerable extent, with the result that their resources for the proper carrying on of

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their banking business were considerably curtailed. The advent of the Commercial Bank changed this. The chartered banks soon learned that the new bank was becoming a popular and formidable rival, and they then began to cultivate that direct contact between themselves and the public, upon which all proper banking must proceed. Lord Cockburn, in his *Memorials of his Time*, thus spoke of the Commercial Bank. "The rise of the Commercial Bank marks the growth of the public mind. No men were more devoid of public spirit, and even of the proper spirit of their trade, than our old Edinburgh bankers. Respectable men they were, but without talent, general knowledge, or any liberal objects. They were the conspicuous sycophants of existing power. They all combined banking with politics. A demand for a bank conducted on more liberal principles was the natural result of this state of things. Hence the origin of the Commercial, professing to be the bank of the people."

One of the conditions, and the condition which made the new bank popular, was that no private banker could be elected to a seat on the Board of Directors.

The difficulty under existing legislative conditions of incorporating any new bank is that no power can be conferred on such new company to issue bank notes. In Scotland the right to issue bank notes was formerly regarded as a common law-right, not confined to any of the great banking corporations, but extending to individuals, whose power of issuing notes was only limited by their credit with the public, and their ability to maintain their notes in circulation. Some of the companies issued notes for ten shillings, five shillings,

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and even lower sums. There are instances where notes have been issued for one penny.

By the Bank Charter Act of 1844, it is provided "that from and after the passing of this Act, no person other than a banker who, on the sixth day of May 1844, was lawfully issuing his own bank notes shall render or issue bank notes in any part of the United Kingdom." This Act was followed by the Bank Notes (Scotland) Act, 1845, "to regulate the issue of bank notes in Scotland," under which, and since its date, the circulation of the Scots bank notes has been conducted. By sec. 5 it is enacted that all bank notes to be issued or re-issued in Scotland must be expressed to be, under certain specified penalties, for payment of a sum in pounds sterling, without any fractional part of a pound. It is not lawful for any bank in Scotland to have in circulation, upon the average of a period of four weeks, a greater amount of notes than the amount of its authorised issue, plus the amount of the monthly average of gold and silver coin held by such bank at its head office or principal place of issue, during the same period of four weeks. The number of banks authorised to issue their own notes in Scotland by the Act of 1845 was nineteen. This number has been diminished by amalgamation by eight, and three authorised issues have been allowed to lapse, leaving now only eight banks having the power to issue notes. The present total authorised issue of the eight banks of issue is £2,676,350, against which they do not require to keep any gold reserve. From the last authentic return, it appears that the Scottish banks had then in circulation notes to the extent of £4,498,840 over their authorised issue, against

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which they held gold and silver as required by the Statute. Parenthetically it may be observed that the question of the gold reserves in this country is now receiving that consideration by bankers which its importance demands. The subject has been discussed intermittently for many years. Sir Edward Holden, Bart., the Chairman and Managing Director of The London City and Midland Bank, Limited, at the meeting of the shareholders of that institution held on 23rd January last, again drew pointed attention to the subject, and urged that joint stock banks should hold 6 per cent. of their liabilities in gold. When it is pointed out that against the millions of money which our banks hold on deposit receipt and current account, they do not require to keep in their own vaults any gold reserve, the importance of the question especially during a period of financial crisis, cannot be overrated.

It is questionable if the reduction in the number of banks is beneficial to the trade of Scotland or otherwise. For one thing there is no competition among the banks. They all hang together, being bound by certain agreements and understandings arranged among the managers regulating their actions. No bank in Scotland, unlike England, can give a loan at a less rate of interest than another, or allow a higher rate of interest on money lodged on deposit.

In considering the present position of banking in Scotland, the fact must not be overlooked that our banks are not philanthropic institutions. They have dividends to earn for their shareholders, and it is the duty of the managers to see that not only the capital of the shareholders, but the money of depositors is invested or lent

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against proper and adequate security. Against this it is argued that the modern trend of the bank of to-day is not so much the concentration of the money of the community, so as to make it accessible and available for the production and distribution of the great necessities of life which yield but a moderate return, but the more lucrative expedient of investing and advancing a not inconsiderable portion of their assets in foreign securities and to foreign borrowers. Whatever may now be urged against Scottish banks, it must never be forgotten that Scotland's material prosperity in the past was due to our old banks. When, in 1826, the then Government proposed extending to Scotland the English Bill prohibiting the issue of notes under five pounds, Sir Walter Scott, in those three powerful letters of his over the signature of Malachi Malagrowth to his friend, James Ballantine, editor of *The Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, in which periodical they appeared, thus wrote: "It is not less questionable that the consequence of this banking system, as conducted in Scotland, has been attended with the greatest advantage to the country. The facility which it has afforded to the industrious and enterprising agriculturist or manufacturer, as well as to the trustees of the public in executing national works, has converted Scotland from a poor, miserable, and barren country into one where, if nature has done less, art and industry have done more, than in perhaps any country in Europe, England herself not excepted. Through means of the credit which this system has afforded, roads have been made, bridges built, and canals dug, opening up to reciprocal communication the most sequestered districts of the country; manufactures have been established

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unequalled in extent or success, wastes have been converted into productive farms, the productions of the earth for human use have been multiplied twenty fold, while the wealth of the rich and the comforts of the poor have been extended in the same proportion, and all this in a country where the rigour of the climate and sterility of the soil seem united to set improvement at defiance." If evidence be required of the continued confidence of the people in the stability of our banks, it is to be found in connection with the present world-wide financial crisis, when not a single run is reported on any of our branch banks, and when the people of Scotland have responded so generously to the appeal of the banks to lodge as much gold as possible with them, and when the managers of the banks have responded so readily to the demands of the people, like the gallant horse to the call of its rider. The conditions of the money market of the present day are entirely changed from those which prevailed but a comparatively few years ago. Competition for deposits, that great foundation upon which Scottish banking was reared and is maintained, has reached a point of rivalry hitherto unparalleled. Municipalities, corporations, investment companies, and private trading firms are strenuous in their efforts, frequently successfully accomplished, to divert from the established banks the savings of the people. Again there is a more intimate knowledge than formerly on the part of the people of Stock Exchange securities where, if judiciously selected, the risk as regards the repayment of principal is but meagre, and where the interest paid is higher than can be obtained from money lodged on deposit receipt. This

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severely militates against the banks in obtaining deposits. There are signs that the strain of competition is beginning to be felt. Banks which have hitherto paid their dividends free of income tax, are now paying their dividends without deduction of tax, thereby lessening their dividends. When every consideration is, however, given to the present position of our banks, it is surely within the range of practical politics to devise a scheme whereby money can, with due safeguards for its repayment and at a reasonable rate of interest, be placed at the disposal of the traders of this country for use in industrial and trading concerns; for there is no doubt of this, that the lack of credit is responsible for the fettering of industries. When our present European troubles are settled and the reaction begins, when new trades and new industries must inevitably spring into existence, the need of credit on reasonable terms must become of paramount importance. Other countries do it, and that with marked success. Germany, whatever may be her position in the near future among the nations of the world, is the parent country of co-operative banking, where millions of money have been lent at a moderate rate of interest for use in productive purposes, and that at the very base of the social system. The present seems an opportune time for the incorporation of a new bank for the benefit of the traders in this country, particularly of the small trader. The institution proposed is a bank run on co-operative principles, free from government control, and managed by its members. The bank proposed would not be formed for the initial purpose of making profit for its members as a banking concern. The object would be

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rather to supply credit to enable a trader to make profit out of his own business, accentuating the principle that the bank is there only to render a common service. It banishes altogether the eagerness for profit which must mean risk. Any profit made by the bank during the first five years of its existence should be carried to a reserve fund, and thereafter the rate of dividend should not exceed 4 per cent., any surplus going to the reserve fund.

The establishment of a reserve fund is of the utmost importance to co-operative banks, and is a matter of immeasurably greater importance than it is to an ordinary bank, which, as a rule, begins with a substantial capital. It is proposed that the new society should be registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts, 1893-1913. The society would not interfere with our existing banks, but would rather act as feeders for them, for the reason that the personal credit of the borrower—a form of security not readily accepted by our existing banks—will have to be the form of security upon which co-operative banking will in the main have to be built up. The entire business of a co-operative bank is based upon mutual knowledge among members of their several persons, their qualities, their positions, their business. It is, in truth, such knowledge, the vigilance exercised, the close touch maintained, which make the co-operative bank at all possible and its business successful. The bank would educate its members in business methods, and accustom them to the punctual fulfilment of financial obligations.

The first prime requisite is the command of capital to begin operations. There should be no insuperable

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difficulty in getting not only the share capital requisite but the necessary deposits. Once establish the fact that the institution is managed with prudence, and the subsequent steps are surprisingly simple. In countries where the co-operative system has been for any material time established, there has been no difficulty in getting any money that might be desired. On the Continent of Europe such societies are trusted with millions of money, which, for the benefit of the community, they are enabled to distribute for self-repaying productive work all over the country, and to return the deposits on demand with interest.

The question arises, what is to be the individual liability of the members of the proposed new bank? In some countries the liability of the members is unlimited, the strong financially bearing the burden of the weak, if need be. It is thought that such unlimited liability banks would not meet with favour in this country. The proposal submitted is that the banks should be, so far as the members are concerned, of limited liability, every member knowing on his entering the society the full extent of his ultimate liability, and that the bank should have power to receive deposits only to the extent of a certain proportion of its subscribed capital. The bank would be non-political and non-sectarian, so that everyone who had the welfare of the commercial community at heart might become a member. The distinctive feature of the bank would be that it would be controlled by the members who made use of it, and that the management would be a thoroughly representative one. Unlike our existing banks, where the controlling power is for the most part in Edinburgh, the controlling power of a

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co-operative bank would be situated in the midst of the members who obtained credit. The supreme power would be democratically vested in the general body of members, who would elect a management committee. No credit would be given to any but a member of the society, although deposits would be accepted from any one. During the currency of a loan the committee would exercise a vigilant though unobtrusive watchfulness over the borrower's operations, and satisfy themselves that the money advanced was actually being put to the purpose specified in the proposal for loan. The rate of interest to be charged and allowed on the loans and deposits would show the least possible margin of difference.

In cases where security can be provided other than personal, a less rate of interest would be charged. The question of security for advances is one to which the committee of the co-operative banks might with advantage turn its attention. In the Canadian Bank Act of 1913, provision has been made for extended security being conferred upon bankers. In Australia the wool on the sheep's back can be mortgaged to a bank in security of advances. In England, furniture in a man's house can, under due safeguards, be mortgaged to a creditor; but in Scotland we labour under the disability that no security for advances over moveable property can be conferred upon a creditor, so long as the debtor remains in possession of that property.

If co-operative banks were established in this country on a sound financial basis, it is thought that ere long their prosperity would be assured, and that instead of being ousted from the field by the growing power and

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prosperity of co-operative stores, the small trader would be able to compete, and that successfully, with the best managed of our co-operative stores. The scheme above outlined is capable of many improvements and amendments, but institutions formed on the lines indicated for the encouragement and development of local industries by local capital and local loans will supply a felt want.

ALLAN M'NEIL.



An Comunn Gaidhealach



THE last quarter of a century has witnessed a gratifying revival of interest in the language, literature, and music of the Scottish highlands. Among the agencies that have been responsible for inspiring and directing this national movement, An Comunn Gaidhealach is entitled to a high and honourable, if not, indeed, to the foremost place. Instituted three and twenty years ago, it has from modest beginnings spread itself over the entire Gaelic area, and has established itself in districts, outwith that region, wherever Celtic sentiment has been strong enough to furnish the requisite soil and sustenance. Its membership is drawn from all classes and creeds and parties—on its broad platform all sorts and conditions of Celts meet and unite to promote the interests of the language, music, and home-industries of their country. The objects of the Association are to encourage and promote—

1. The teaching and use of the Gaelic Language ;
2. The study and cultivation of Gaelic Literature, History, Music, and Art ;
3. The Native Industries of the highlands of Scotland ;
4. The wearing of the national Dress.

The last of these objects has but recently been added. For many years after the formation of the Association

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its promotors very wisely concentrated their energies mainly on their Annual *Mòd*, an institution conceived somewhat on the lines of the Welsh National Eisteddfod, at which competitions in solo and choral singing, recitations and literary composition are conducted. The earlier *Mòds* were necessarily on a small scale, but the interest in them grew from year to year, until now competitors are so numerous that three full days have to be devoted to the proceedings. In Scotland, the *Mòd* is the event of the Celtic year. It gathers to itself competitors and interested auditors from all parts of the country; its place of meeting is, for the time being, the Mecca of all Gaelic-loving highlanders. The *Mòd* meeting-place is changed from year to year; it has been held at places as far apart from one another as Oban, Inverness, Dingwall, Perth, Stirling, Rothesay, Greenock, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee. Wherever it is held the experience is the same—whole-hearted enthusiasm, and audiences overflowing the largest available halls. There is no doubt whatever that the *Mòd*, by the public display it gives of the remarkable charm and beauty of the native Gaelic songs, by its discovery and encouragement of capable exponents of these songs, by the impetus it has given through its literary competitions to the writing of Gaelic prose and poetry, and by the atmosphere of sympathetic interest it has been steadily forming in its itinerancy throughout the country, has been a most potent influence in that revival of Gaelic sentiment which the present generation is happily witnessing. It has been sometimes objected that, relatively, too much attention has been given to the musical side of An Comunn's work, but it has to

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be remembered that a deplorable spirit of apathy towards the value and welfare of the language is too common throughout the highlands. Anything like a real living interest in the preservation of the language has to be created, and experience has proved that this can best be done through the influence of the native songs. At the Inverness *Mòd* in 1912, there were over 700 entries for the competitions confined to Juniors, while there were close on 1200 entries in the Senior Section. Over £230 was spent in prizes. Children's *Mòds* have been held annually for some years at Inverness, Oban, and Fort-William, and a most successful beginning has also been made with such *Mòds* at Tobermory, Portree, Ullapool, and Lochcarron.

The Association has always kept in the forefront of its programme the advocacy of Gaelic teaching in the schools. It regards it as discreditable in the highest degree that the study of the native language should not find a place in the school curriculum. It has made repeated appeals to the Scottish Education Department on the subject; but while the Department has always professed itself friendly, it has done but little to give practical expression to its sympathy. Beyond providing a £10 grant in cases where the services of a Gaelic-speaking teacher are deemed necessary for the efficient teaching of English subjects, the authorities have given no specific encouragement to the teaching of Gaelic in the elementary schools. The giving of subject grants has been finally abandoned in favour of block grants covering everything; and no exception, it is said, can be made in favour of Gaelic. The Department refers An Comunn to the School Boards who have the power, if they choose to exercise

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it, of including Gaelic in the curriculum of any school in which there is reasonable ground for its presence. "Convert the School Boards to your way of thinking, and we shall be very glad to give the most sympathetic consideration to any proposals for the teaching of Gaelic which School Boards may submit to us"; that, in short, is the attitude of the Department, and from that attitude it declines to be moved. The local authorities would seem, therefore, to be the bodies through which the Association must operate. While some of these bodies are distinctly sympathetic, it is to be feared that most of them are indifferent. So strongly did the Association feel on this subject of Gaelic teaching in schools that when the Education Act of 1908 was passing through Parliament, it endeavoured to make the teaching of Gaelic compulsory by seeking to insert a clause making the payment of certain important grants conditional upon satisfactory provision being made for the subject. This action, while endorsed by a considerable number of School Boards, roused others to a perfect fury of opposition; and the recollection of the controversy that arose at that time will still be fresh in the memory of those who are interested in these matters.

It should be unnecessary at this time of day to argue for bi-lingual education in the schools of the highlands; the case in favour of it is unanswerable, not merely on sentimental, but on educational grounds. The mental discipline involved in the use of two languages, and the constant practice of inter-translation between them is a most valuable one, and ought not to be neglected. The educational advantage of a

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training in a second language is recognised on all sides, and for the highland child at all events the second language, if not indeed the first, ought to be Gaelic. At a conference held in Perth in April 1912, the following motions embodying the demands of the Association in the matter of Gaelic teaching were unanimously adopted. They cannot be said to be at all extravagant; they will appeal to most people as eminently moderate and reasonable:—

"1. That this Conference of Bi-lingual teachers and others interested in teaching Gaelic is strongly of opinion that in all schools in the highlands attended mainly by Gaelic-speaking children, Gaelic should be an essential subject of instruction, and that in all other highland schools attended by Gaelic-speaking children instruction in Gaelic should be available to all who desire it.

"2. That this Conference is of opinion that the supply of trained Gaelic-speaking teachers possessing a literary knowledge of the Gaelic language is inadequate to the requirements of the Gaelic-speaking area, and respectfully urges upon the Education Department, and on the Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers the desirability of affording all Gaelic-speaking students in training adequate opportunity of availing themselves during their term of training of the facilities for the further study of Gaelic which are now available at the training centres at Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.

"3. That this Conference is of opinion that the Grant of £10 in aid of the employment of

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Gaelic-speaking teachers formerly paid under minute of the Department, and now distributed under section 17 (9) of the Education (Scotland) Act, should be paid as an addition to their salary to those teachers in respect of whose services the grant is earned.

"4. That this Conference is strongly of opinion that in appointing teachers to schools in Gaelic-speaking districts, School Boards should in all instances give a preference, other things being equal, to Gaelic-speaking applicants.

"5. That this Conference of Gaelic-speaking teachers and others interested in the teaching of Gaelic in highland schools urges upon the Education Department the importance of immediately introducing a Higher Grade paper in Gaelic in the Leaving Certificate Examinations.

"6. That this Conference observes with regret that the provision requiring Secondary Education Committees, in nominating Junior Students in Parishes in which the home language of children is Gaelic, to give a preference to those applicants who have a good colloquial knowledge of Gaelic has been dropped from the Regulations for the training of teachers, and expresses the hope that notwithstanding this omission Secondary Education Committees will continue the practice of giving a preference to such candidates, and will insist on instruction in Gaelic being provided for these students in Junior Student Centres.

"7. That this Conference is strongly of opinion

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that all Inspectors of Schools in Gaelic-speaking areas should be familiar with the Gaelic language."

The institution of a higher Leaving Certificate in Gaelic has hitherto been delayed by the lack of suitable text-books. This defect An Comunn has taken steps to remedy, and at this moment a series of text-books for the higher stages of Gaelic is being prepared under its auspices by Dr W. J. Watson, the recently appointed professor of Celtic in Edinburgh University. It is probably true that there is a scarcity of teachers who are capable of doing more than teaching the mere elementary stages, and to provide a sufficiency of teachers competent to take all the school stages of the language An Comunn has instituted at its Summer School a special class for Gaelic-speaking teachers, the members of which will be trained to become fully qualified teachers of the language in all its grades. This experiment will be watched with great interest. In connection with the subject of Gaelic teaching, An Comunn has performed a useful service by obtaining a modification of the conditions under which the grants for Gaelic teaching given by the "Highland Trust" are dispensed. Hitherto the restrictions have been such that only about half of the £500 per annum set apart for the purpose has been earned, while the tests applied to ascertain the knowledge of the language possessed by those on whose account the grants were paid were suspected to be in many cases somewhat inadequate. Under the revised regulations which have now been adopted systematic and graded instruction must be given; the Trust's payments may be earned

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for two years in succession, while An Comunn proposes to continue payment for a third year. This should mean an enormous gain in thoroughness and efficiency while at the same time substantially increasing the pecuniary awards. It is hoped that an understanding may be come to between An Comunn and the Gaelic Society of London, whose generous encouragement to Gaelic teachers has been so much appreciated and so fruitful of good results in past years, with a view to the pooling of the funds available for the purpose, and for the avoidance of overlapping.

The department of An Comunn's work which concerns itself with the encouragement of home industries is conducted with vigour and success. The aim is to stimulate the prosecution of such industries as can be carried on conveniently within the homes of the people, and to secure such a market for the products as will give an adequate return for the time and toil spent upon them. Sales of tweeds and other goods are held annually under the auspices of the Art and Industry Committee of An Comunn, and at some of these goods to the value of £500 have been sold. The Committee are able to obtain for the workers better prices for their goods than are commonly secured through the ordinary channels, and this advantage is greatly appreciated.

The business of the Association is conducted by an Executive Council, partly elected and partly nominated. Thirty members are elected from among the members of the Association by a ballot vote; each branch of the Association is entitled to a representative on the Executive, while each affiliated Society also has the right to send a representative. There are at this

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moment ninety-seven branches and thirty-five affiliated societies. The income of the Association last year, including the profit on the *Mòd* and interest on capital, was £677. It has invested funds amounting to over £7000, obtained as the result of the great *Feill* or Bazaar held in Glasgow some years ago. There are six Committees managing the various departments of An Comunn's work, viz.: Education, Publication, Propaganda, *Mòd* and Music, Art and Industry, and Finance. Prior to the *Feill* and the resulting financial improvement in its position, the Association was greatly hampered by lack of money to carry out its projects; but since that time it has been able to pursue its work steadily and vigorously, and to engage in enterprises which its slender resources made impossible in earlier years.

It is difficult to show in figures the results of the Association's efforts during the three and twenty years of its existence. The most valuable part of its work, and the part impossible to tabulate, has consisted in the change which it has been so largely instrumental in effecting in the attitude of the people generally towards the Gaelic language. To one who has lived through the last thirty years the change in this attitude has been most marked. From being somewhat ashamed of their Gaelic, those who speak it now glory in the fact. There has been an immense increase in the respect with which highlanders regard the old language, as well as a remarkable quickening of their appreciation of its intrinsic beauty and worth. Moreover, there has been a noticeable growth of friendliness towards it on the part of non-Gaelic-speaking Scots. There is, too,

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an increasing market for Gaelic books and periodicals, though in this respect there is still much room for improvement, and the improvement will certainly come if the rising generation are taught in the schools to read the language and to appreciate its literature. Gaelic songs and Gaelic music are studied and rendered as never before, and are increasingly popular among all sorts of audiences, lowland as well as highland. If those in the highlands whose every-day language is Gaelic could be imbued with a deeper sense of the value of the possession that has been entrusted to them, and if they could be persuaded to make it a matter of conscience to share that possession with their children, the work of An Comunn, and of kindred Associations, would be made immeasurably easier. An Comunn, through its branches and its propaganda work, is endeavouring to create such a pride in, and devotion to, the language as will make its future secure within its present bounds, and revive it where it has been permitted to disappear.

An Comunn Gaidhealach is doing a highly patriotic work which should command the sympathy and support of all highlanders—indeed of all Scots. It is but a comparatively short time, as historical periods go, since Gaelic was the language of practically all Scotland. It is the one remaining living link with the Scotland that was, and all Scots who value the associations of the past must view with approval the efforts that are being made to preserve it. The Gaelic-speaking highlanders of to-day should not be the only persons interested in the Gaelic language. Scotsmen generally have a patriotic duty towards it, since it is the most

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precious embodiment left of the spirit and genius of their ancestors. They are deeply and properly concerned about the preservation of the ancient monuments in stone and lime that have descended from their country's past; they should be much more profoundly interested in that splendid instrument of thought and expression which their fathers fashioned, and which they have thoughtlessly permitted to fall so largely into disuse and decay. Those who in An Comunn Gaidhealach and elsewhere are working in behalf of Gaelic have a right to look to all patriotic Scots for sympathy and active support in their efforts in behalf of the national language of Scotland.

This article has been written mainly for the information of those who may be ignorant of, or only partially acquainted with, An Comunn and its work; and while much more could have been written with regard to the details of its numerous activities, perhaps sufficient has been set down to show that it is striving actively and sincerely to do a work for Gaelic which needed to be done, and that in its labours in behalf of our ancient national language it deserves the sympathy and support not of highlanders alone but of all patriotic Scots.

M. MACLEOD.

Land and Trees



HE question of "the Land" is unfortunately one on which almost everyone thinks himself qualified to speak. Popularly, and especially in the towns, where the subject is handled at once more dogmatically and more sentimentally than it is where the problems are better understood, there are two standpoints. The one, much applauded by city dwellers who have no intention of going to live in the country even if they are given the opportunity, maintains that the only cause of rural depopulation is the attitude of the lairds, regards the landlords as all men of wealth, and, forgetting that successful agriculture is a science, fondly imagines that anyone can make a good farmer. The other attitude is one of hopeless negation. Under the pressure of the necessity of getting votes—an object the Unionist party cherishes as ardently as does the Liberal, but with less success—schemes are put forward when in Opposition which have much to commend them but are vitiated by the underlying assumption that this sort of thing is not really very much use after all. Moreover, "the Land" is a wide term, and unless one specifies what locality is under discussion and takes into consideration such vital factors as climate, communications, markets, type of soil, and the pervasive if

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intangible influence of the past on men's minds, little clear thinking can be done or useful suggestion made.

The purpose of this paper is to induce more honest thinking on the problem as it exists in the Highlands of Scotland.

It is a significant fact that at one time the clansmen were passionately attached to their chiefs, whereas now a chief of a clan, with the rarest exceptions, has only to ask for his clansmen's votes to secure his opponent's success, whoever he may be. Let us go back and seek the cause of this lamentable change of attitude.

The root of the matter lies in this—that at one time the chiefs needed men, and to-day they need money. That is their misfortune rather than their fault, though in the carrying out of their necessity harsh and even wicked things were done, some of which constitute an indelible stain. When men were no longer needed for purposes of clan warfare, when peace followed on the Risings of '15 and '45, when the advance of civilisation permitted the natural increase of population, then in spite of recruiting for Highland regiments, the lairds found themselves faced with a new situation. Rents became the essential item, and rents were not always paid, houses were needed without the return of personal services in the field of battle, and, to crown the difficulty, economic causes of wider range made themselves felt. Owing to the shocking action of the fiscal laws and their interference with free interchange,¹ sheer gaunt famine stalked time and again through the glens. The

¹ The deliberate legislative attempt, by restrictions on exports to this country of cattle, meat, or butter, to kill Irish industry (1665-1800), is a black page in both Scottish and Irish history.

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stories of those days are almost too pitiful to be told. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun states that in one year there were two hundred thousand persons begging from door to door. In Aberdeenshire "stout men thankfully accepted twopence a day in full for their work." Still they clung to their homes, but little wonder is it that the laird wished them to go.

As time went on other causes came into operation. Good rents were offered for sheep farms, and the lairds wanted good rents to keep up their town houses. Indeed it is only too true that to-day the sole capacity in which many a landlord appears in the eyes of his tenants is that of a rent collector—and London gets the benefit of the money. Still later grouse moors and deer forests became the fashion, and even the sheep began to go. And the departure of the sheep on the heels of the men who had preceded them was not an unmixed blessing even for the deer, for sheep fertilise soil and deer kill it, and the lands on which the deer winter and the burns in which the trout thrive knew the difference. To-day in some places the deer are being hand-fed, like pheasants.

It should be added that the rents of crofts and small farms were very high. For this there is clearly some excuse, for every croft has its buildings, but on the other hand it has too often been the custom to allow the crofter to improve his buildings and then raise his rent because of the improvements—a proceeding which can only be described as sheer robbery and confiscation. To men suffering under such a system the attractions of the United States and Canada are irresistible.

It must never be forgotten, in conclusion, that the

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standard of living has risen. Men simply will not put up with the conditions of a former day. A much respected friend of mine told me the other day that he began independent life on thirteen shillings a week, and that a friend of his married on the same sum. Both, by energy and character, have "made good" as the Americans say, and occupy responsible posts. But thirteen shillings went much further in those days as regards necessities than they do now, and in any case all classes are in the same category, and none can blame the other.

In face of all this wide and deep movement, what can one do? We may fix fair rents, give security of tenure, allocate the value of improvements, as has indeed been done. Even so, while we may keep many who would otherwise go, and bring back a few, it seems to me that the whole trend of economic and social life is against it, and that, for success, a new factor must be introduced.

I do not deny the restrictions of to-day. It will scarcely be believed that there are great estates where still the laird can refuse the site of a house, can give it on condition of a brief temporary lease, the number of years fixed by himself, or on a lease terminable by death though that take place the week after the house is built. It will be scarce credited that thereupon the laird slips in, and that for all time he and his children appropriate the rent of this house toward the building of which he did not contribute one penny. But the crowning case of all is this, in theory the most iniquitous though in practice, so far as my experience goes, kindly and benevolently administered—though that depends entirely on the character of the landlord—there are estates

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where no lease at all is ever granted and the whole population—professional, merchant, labouring—live in the houses they themselves have built wholly and solely so long as the laird chooses, and no longer.

No one, I say, denies that these restrictions hamper and cramp and cripple the life and prosperity of the Highlands, but even were they all removed we need some positive factor to bring fresh hope to the life of the North. The houses are in ruins, the land has gone back to nature, the old families are gone, the tie of passionate love of the old home and of loyalty to the old name is broken for ever; the poverty which in the old days was accepted as the will of Providence would not now be tolerated, nor the loneliness endured. Up the dark glens and the wide straths there has sighed a new word of promise and cheer, and to that deep call of Freedom, deeper and older than clan loyalty or love of country, the Highland heart has answered. Brown and golden run the burns in summer, black in winter beneath their banks of snow, but the silence of days long gone lies in the folds of the hills, and only the hoarse bell of the October stag shatters the stillness once filled with the music of the children's play.

"Dark and true and tender is the North," and so were they, but the breath of liberty touched their days and other lands know their virtues and their sons.

We can recreate the Highlands only on the basis of that which called these men away—freedom, opportunity, steady honest work, the building of a home. Employments connected both with sport and summer visitors are more or less artificial, subject to long seasons of dullness, and are dependent on other's whims. Important

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as they are for the Highlands and important as they will remain as sources of employment, the latter at all events increasingly so, they can never be the basis of the healthy life of a race.

Had one-tenth of the ability spent in denouncing landlords, or in defending them, been engaged in a candid study of the possibilities, the Highland land problem would have been an affair of history ere now. Whether we turn to practical men on the spot or to the expert students, to the Government Report (*Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation*, vol. ii., 1909) or the equally resolute *Report of the Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society*, vol. xxv., or to the speeches of foreign foresters who have examined our conditions, or to the experience of landlords such as Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, the reply is the same everywhere. And it is this—that in the whole continent of Europe there is no country more favourably placed with regard to soil and climate for afforestation than the Scottish Highlands. It is, according to all expert opinion, in the Highlands of Scotland that we have simply the ideal area from every point of view for the growing of conifer-bearing trees for commercial purposes. When by determined legislation we free the land sufficiently to retain the farming population or win back others, we do a good deed, but one expressly limited by the nature of the case. Farming in the Highlands must always be a struggle with the elements. Forestry moves with nature. If Providence created these Highland hills and glens for any one thing more than another it was for growing trees. Neglect, ignorance, the ravages of game have done their share

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in frustrating this natural use of the soil, but the chief handicap has been the lack of money. Afforestation pays the next generation, but not this. The results and fruits must be waited for, and the Scottish laird cannot afford to wait. Early this spring I tramped through much of Aberdeenshire, and marked that except in the neighbourhood of mansion-houses, felling has been going on to such an extent that the whole country is being stripped of trees. Little planting is being done. One gathers the impression that Aberdeenshire is too poor to support lairds. On Deeside and Donside, where the sporting rights are valuable, things are different, but even there forestry is quite subsidiary to the sporting interests, even though it might be largely developed without injury to properly shot-over forests and moors.

The plantable area is probably about three million acres in the Highlands alone. The afforestation of this area would leave untouched agricultural land and vast areas of sporting land which because of altitude and other causes are unsuitable. It would also bring much land at present poor into much better condition, and by providing employment during slack months would bring within the categories of paying concerns many glens at present not worth cultivating. Three million acres may strike the reader as excessive. It is not so. Only ignorance imagines that it is. The percentage of land occupied by forests in France is 17, in Belgium 17.3, in Germany 25.9, in Austria 32.6, in *Scotland (an area equal in value to any of these)* 4.6. The price of timber rises steadily, the supply from the New World steadily declines, the demand steadily increases and *we import*

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every year £20,000,000 worth of the more important classes of timber. Could folly go further? Means of communication and other inevitable problems have been overcome elsewhere and are not in any way unique in the Highlands, and, in this connection, while it is true that it does not really pay, in many districts, to plant, the reason lies in the planting in small blocks, spasmodically and without system. No business can succeed on those conditions, and, in any case, it is often forgotten that a handsome tree is not necessarily a commercially sound tree. It is the long, straight stem, free from the deep knots at the roots of old branches, which is valuable, and this does not grow haphazard. It must form one of a large plantation, well surrounded at regular distances. From the window at which I write I see trees (Scots firs and larches) growing healthily enough at an elevation of 2000 feet above the sea, and birches only a little lower, but they would command no price. At the same time it is a mistake to say trees will grow profitably only up to a height of 1000 feet. In certain localities, at least, an altitude of 1500 feet will produce sound trees.

The other day the Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society entertained a group of foreign delegates, experts in forestry, to a tour of the Highlands. They were loud in their praise of the possibilities, politely appreciative of remarkable trees to which they were led, notably silent as to the ghastly waste of resources that almost everywhere lay before them. At the end of their tour they unanimously passed the following resolution:—"From what we had the opportunity of seeing of the soils and woodlands of Scotland, and from what is known

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of the climatic conditions, we are of the opinion that the country lends itself admirably to afforestation. Under such natural conditions afforestation can be undertaken on a large scale, and we think that the Society should receive that active support of the nation which is necessary to bring this about." Monsieur Rauner, Russia, summed up the situation to the effect that he had never seen anywhere so suitable a climate for woodlands as they had in Scotland. "Every day they should thank the Lord for having given them such a country." So, in his courteous way, he put us all to shame.

What must have been in the foreign delegates' thoughts—the contrast in their minds—may be gathered from the situation concisely expressed to the Secretary for Scotland in November of last year by Mr G. P. Gordon (see *Transactions of R.S.A.S.*, vol. xxviii., part 1).

"The contrast between one of our Highland glens and a glen in the Highlands of Europe is very marked indeed. We have in our typical Highland glen a stretch generally of indifferent pasture, with perhaps a dozen shepherds' cottages scattered along it. A similar continental glen supports a vigorous population of small-holders. We find that it is the forest which maintains this population. It is thus not due to any greater advantage, either of soil or climate. I make that statement with detailed agricultural knowledge of the conditions in both countries—Germany and Scotland. The nature of forest employment is specially well adapted to keep people on the land." Mr Gordon then pointed out that this was so because it is (1) permanent (2)

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varied, offering wide scope to capacity and interest, e.g., sawmilling, wood-cutting, wood-carving, road-making; (3) workable alongside other industries, for instance it demands more labour in the dead months of winter. To take an example—a forest of 10,000 acres with 3000 acres occupied by small-holders supports 1500 people. In the Highlands of Scotland such an area supports 300 at the outside. In Germany 81 per cent. of those employed in forestry are small-holders. "*Forestry is the backbone of an economic system of small-holdings.*"

No government moves, or dare move, without the pressure of public opinion. Almost all legislation is responsive. This is the simple explanation of the inactivity of administration after administration in this matter. It is not those in authority who ought primarily to be approached. They will not move until public opinion voices itself unmistakably. On this matter of afforestation the democracy of Scotland is silent, and I think that beyond question the ignorance that is the cause of this silence is intrigued with the idea that planted land is derelict land, giving little employment or none. In short, there is an idea abroad that afforestation is a landlord's device for getting round the demand for small-holdings. "Trees instead of men," think some? A stupid and deplorable error. Rather is it, *Trees therefore men.* Let the people know the facts, then. Make afforestation a living and national issue, as it will be if the facts are known and appreciated; and no government would dare long hold back from entering seriously in that exact and particular survey and examination so urgently needed as the first step. I would that the Highlander would make his candidate's

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instructed interest in this vital question the test of his fitness to represent a Highland constituency.

This paper is not an essay on afforestation nor an attempt to lay down lines of action. Therefore much that is pertinent must be left on one side. Its object is to lay down a few main propositions, and to secure their lodgment in the reader's mind. The impossibility of a return to former days is one, the clearing of our ideas of the stale vapours of revenge is another. More positively, we must open our thinking to see in afforestation the best use of the natural resources of the Highlands. There remain for our consideration the two great matters of finance and employment.

Of the former little need be said. Wherever on a large scale, under favourable circumstances, afforestation has been carried through, it pays. Its returns are slow, but as certain and as satisfactory as financial returns can be in this fallible world. It is not charity, nor speculation. It rests neither on fashion nor whim. It is a business proposition, and it pays enormously. That the State must bear a hand is obvious, though in what way is a matter for discussion. Only it is full time that the discussion came to a head and the first steps were taken. Day by day the glens are drained of men. In Mar alone, for example, the population has fallen from 2671 in 1755 to 1452 in 1901, and as that figure includes the new villages which have arisen through the needs of summer visitors, we may imagine to what extent the countryside has emptied. Neither lamentation nor fierce attack will bring the population back. We must work along the natural line—follow the grain, so to say.

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Examples of the commercial possibilities could be multiplied without number.

"In France the State re-forested during last century 200,000 acres of sand dunes at a cost of £400,000. Of this, 75,000 acres were sold, reimbursing the total cost of the 200,000 acres and £28,000 to boot, and leaving a property now valued at £2,000,000.

"In the Landes, 1,750,000 acres were planted at a cost of £2,000,000. The value, based on annual production, is now £20,000,000.

"Some 200,000 acres of poor land, unhealthy useless waste in La Sologne, were planted at a cost of £1 per acre. These lands, which fifty years ago could not be sold at 16s. an acre, now bring in over 12s. per acre, *annual revenue* being valued at £3,600,000."

These actual results, given by Dr B. E. Fernon, are typical of the results achieved everywhere when, under such favourable conditions as the Scottish Highlands present, afforestation has been seriously and wisely planned, the area carefully surveyed, and the operations carried through on a large scale.

The matter of employment is at once the most interesting of all, and the most hopeful. At present one man goes to every 1000 acres or so. Under afforestation, according to all who know the subject, one man goes to every 100 acres. That man is employed throughout the year. Forestry is his whole occupation. Take three million acres and plant them—by sections and gradually of course—and we employ, ultimately, 30,000 men in place of 3000. Partial employment would be found for many men, including men working crofts and small farms, during

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the busy season, which would coincide with the quiet season on the land, and in this way and in the mills and in transport probably four men would be employed partially or indirectly for every one employed wholly in the forest. This brings our figure up to 150,000, and to these must be added the traders, professional men, and so forth who would follow this large increase in population. Multiply by three or four for dependents, and we have some idea of the change that would come over the face of Scotland. These figures, it ought to be mentioned, err on the safe side. Roughly, the Highlands properly afforested, as many acres on the Continent are afforested, would ultimately bear an addition to their population at the very least of over half a million souls, almost certainly a great many more.

All this is no dream. It is in full operation in other countries, where the conditions are less favourable than they are in our Scottish Highlands.

The truth is that there has been much misunderstanding of the relationship between agriculture and afforestation. In the average man's mind lurks the idea that they are antagonistic. This, I think, is the cause of the lack of popular enthusiasm, and it is here especially that instruction is required.

The large rural population in, say, Germany, as compared with that in our bare (and therefore) empty glens, is based on the linking of the two occupations. As Mr G. P. Gordon concisely told the Secretary for Scotland (*Transactions, R.S.A.S.*, vol. xxviii.), forest employment is specially well adapted to keep people on the land. "First of all, it is permanent both in time and place. Secondly, the nature of the employ-

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ment is very varied. You have people employed as wood-cutters, saw-millers, road-makers, and in various forest industries. Thirdly, in winter, when other employment on the land is scarce, the forest demands a larger supply of labour, and this labour is highly paid." To take a concrete example—a forest of 10,000 acres will have 3000 acres attached under cultivation by small-holders, supporting a population of 1500, while at present in the Highlands not one-fifth of that number can be maintained.

But where is that "active support of the nation" so sorely needed? How much longer is Scotland to remain pre-occupied with England's internal struggles and problems? The people of Scotland can yet respond numerously to a great call, but in the cause of her own regeneration the soul of the nation seems asleep.

INNES LOGAN.



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THE first traces of Scottish settlement in Canada are to be found in the migration, in the middle of the eighteenth century, of contingents of the Macdonalds of Glenaladale, and other Highland clans, to Prince Edward Island and the adjacent regions of Nova Scotia, which had been acquired from France by the treaty of Utrecht. The earliest compact and permanent settlement was probably in the county of Pictou, and this colonisation contributed the first link to the chain which binds the two countries. The history of the Scots race in Canada has been traced in detail by a number of more or less able historians. The first important work was Rattray's *History of the Scot in British North America*, and the latest is a two-volume history of the Scot in Canada by Dr George Bryce of Winnipeg. All the many volumes on the subject contain a mass of interesting and valuable information, but most of them are marred by a certain monotony of view-point, and by too great a zeal for everything Scottish. They trace the process of settlement, but neglect to note the moral results visible in the Canadian nation, a want on their part which I here propose to do something to supply.

In the first place, it will suffice if I recount a few of the more typical and important of the Scottish

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migrations and settlements in Canada. After Wolfe's victory at Quebec in 1759 a small body of Fraser Highlanders settled on the Saguenay River, took up land, and, marrying French wives, became absorbed in the French-Canadian population. It is not uncommon experience to come across people in Quebec bearing the names of Fraser and Macleod, and who are unable to speak a word of either Gaelic or English. It has been observed, however, that many of these habitants of semi-Scots descent maintain their ancestral characteristics in their methods of cultivation, and in some of their habits of life. These early settlements received large reinforcements at the time of the American revolution. After the '45 and the collapse of the Stuart cause, there had been extensive settlements of Highland Scots in the region now known as the United States, these plantations being chiefly in Georgia and the State of New York. In view of their antecedents and history, the conduct of the incomers during the revolutionary war seems anomalous. Before they emigrated, many of them had been bitter enemies of the Hanoverian dynasty, and it was to be expected that they and their descendants would eagerly embrace the opportunity of revenge afforded by the colonial revolt. But apparently they were loyal to monarchy in the abstract, as well as to a royal race, for the great majority of them declined to join the revolutionary party. Instead, they furnished a considerable portion of the loyalist American regiments recruited in the English cause. After the conclusion of the struggle and the peace of Versailles, large bodies of these settlers crossed the border to Canada as part of the "United Empire

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Loyalists." In Canada, in return for their services, they obtained grants of land in proportion to their rank, some of the higher officers receiving considerable estates ; whilst the rank and file were granted allotments of 100 acres. These men founded the famous Glen-garry settlement in Eastern Ontario, from which some of the finest stock in Canada has sprung. And there were other bodies of Highland Scots, scattered among the loyalist communities, who laid the foundations of Ontario. In this migration the Lowland Scots element was not represented. Most of them probably followed Dr John Wotherspoon of Princeton, the boyhood friend of "Jupiter" Carlyle of Inveresk, and sided with the revolutionary party, the Scots Presbyterians of Ulster being solid in the same cause. From time to time Scots settlers came drifting out to the new Canada, but the next great impetus to extensive settlement came with the year of the "Short Corn" in 1842, and then with the Disruption of 1843. These events caused great upheavals in Scotland, and had wide-spread effects on her religious and economic life, there ensuing a vast migration to Canada from the Lowland shires ; and it was in this year that the prosperous counties of Perth and Lanark in Ontario were founded, in the main by Lowland Scots. With the abolition of the Corn Laws and the triumph of the economists, the reorganisation of the Highland rural system was inevitable, and there began the black days which tradition still hands down as "The Highland Clearances." A Highland stream was sent forth to supplement the Lowlanders, and the counties of Huron, Bruce, and Simcoe were soon settled by hardy bands of crofters. Once the channel had been

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opened the stream continued, and all through the middle of last century, till the seventies, there was a constant, if not vast, flow of emigration from both Highlands and Lowlands to the province of Ontario.

In 1813, however, Lord Selkirk, an enterprising Scots nobleman, founded the Red River Colony with Orcadian settlers, who after endless vicissitudes and hardships created a peaceful, isolated enclave of rural prosperity. The Hudson Bay and other fur trading Companies, which were the reigning powers in the regions west of the Great Lakes, recruited, almost without exception, their officials and staff from the Highlands of Scotland, till the whole atmosphere of the North-West became permeated with a strong Scots flavour. Most of the Scots fur traders married Indian wives, and there soon arose a half-breed population in which the Scottish features and characteristics sometimes prevailed over the Indian, and, among these, Scots names were always retained. In 1870 came the Rebellion of Louis Riel and the consequent inrush of settlers from Ontario; but in spite of these movements there was little real expansion till the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Pacific Coast had been completed in 1883. In the early eighties, however, there was a decided movement to colonise the fertile Red River Valley and plains of Manitoba, and Scots settlers formed no inconsiderable element of the migration. Though these were mainly of Lowland farming stock, there were one or two settlements of crofter Highlanders, particularly at Killarney and Saltcoats. But the earlier Manitoba "boom" of the eighties was premature. There was an undue inflation of land values, and as a

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result a severe set-back followed. The whole North-West fell into a state of decay, and languished for more than a decade. The development had been premature, the exactions of the railways were severe, governments were incompetent, and the immigration policy was badly managed. Moreover, the turn of the Canadian West could only come when the more temperate regions of the South in the United States had seen their free lands totally disappear. But with the beginning of the century a new era of phenomenal development dawned upon the Canadian West, and this improvement has continued with unabated vigour to the present day. Newcomers began to pour in from every country of the earth, and the tide of emigrants from the British Isles turned in solid volume towards the Dominion.

Associated as the people of Scotland were, by personal kinship and sentimental ties with Canada, the attraction of the prizes of the new Canada was too great to be resisted. The flow of Scots emigration, which up to the Boer War had been going to South Africa and the United States, was then diverted to Canada. That movement grew in volume from year to year till it reached an annual output of nearly 40,000 souls, and only now does it show any signs of slackening. Such is a brief account of the main streams of Scottish emigration which have contributed to the composition of the Canadian people. The Scots element in the population of the Dominion amounts, according to the census returns, to almost exactly 1,000,000, or one-seventh of the whole population. It is unnecessary to say that this emigration has exercised a far-reaching influence on the temper and characteristics of Canada,

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and it should be interesting to trace some of the results of that influence on this vigorous young nationality.

In the pioneer stages of a country like Canada, the Scot was peculiarly fitted for the task of hewing the path to a new civilisation. He had been reared and nurtured in a country of wild landscape and rugged outline, and found himself more at home among the wildernesses of Canada than did the incomer who hailed from the more fertile and softer shires of England. Brought up, as many of the earlier Scots of Ontario were, on Highland crofts or small Lowland farms, where a living was hard to win from rocky "knowes" and an unfriendly climate, they saw a Mesopotamia of fertility in the soil from which sprang the massive trees of the Ontario forest, and the prospect of possessing 200 acres of as fertile land as the Lothians can boast of, nerved them to the long and wearisome task of clearing the forest. They were stern, rugged men, bent on achieving economic independence, and when that had been won they pressed on to acquire surplus wealth. Many and desperate were their obstacles, but the men whose fathers had won a living on the slopes of Kintyre or the uplands of South Ayrshire broke down in time the barriers of nature which lay between themselves and rural prosperity.

The Scottish character contains within itself a very lively genius, which scholars term *perseveridum ingenium Scotorum*. This quality serves to accentuate very strongly such common failings and virtues as are observable in the race. There is little moderation in the Scots temperament. Now this "devil" or genius in the Scot is the product of history and environment.

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It has been kept in subjection and trained to equability by hardship and continual repression. Scotland, for many decades, was a nation living the life of an armed camp, and fighting, not for the acquisition of wealth or territorial possessions, but for the retention of her sacred individuality. There could be, under these conditions, little thought of culture or advancement towards a better civilisation. Men's minds concentrated on the one idea (the national independence) and fought and died for it. It so happens, too, that many of the great landmarks of Scottish history are unforgettable disasters. Her grim and waesome story, transmitted through the ages in sad sweet currents of tradition, romance, and song, aided perhaps by a rare and exquisite landscape of mountain, moor, and wood, have tempered the aggressive genius of the Scot with a large leaven of sentiment and human sympathy. His mountains and his traditions, on the other hand, gave him an independent spirit. To maintain his independence, his claws were wont to appear at the slightest provocation. Independence produced individual pride, and as he had little to live on but his pride and independence, he consequently had to be very proud of both. In consequence, the main characteristic of the Scots character may be justly said to be a proud and sympathetic spirit of independence. There are many views and opinions touching the subordinate qualities of the Scottish temperament, but there is general agreement that it contains many directly contradictory features. Simultaneously the Scot is rough but kind-hearted; avaricious to a degree in some things, amazingly generous in others; liberal in politics, illiberal in religion; full of

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humour, but somewhat slow to wit ; wondrously adaptable and pliant, but tenacious of inherited prejudice ; gifted with originality and imagination, but apt to be irresponsive and "dour" in the presence of strangers. This primal quality of a proud, self-reliant spirit has made the Scots unequalled as a colonising race. All successful colonies are built by individual effort and enterprise, and the original settlers from Scotland in Canada were peculiarly well fitted for the hard struggle that lay before them in the colonisation of the Dominion. They had the spirit of independence and the spirit of sympathetic help, and the result has been to give the Scot an amazing predominance in the life of Canada over the other racial elements inhabiting it.

A just estimate of the various trends and developments of the civilisation of Canada can best be arrived at in relation to the Scottish inheritance, to which so much is owed. In the estimate now ventured upon, it should be understood that when the word "Canadian" is used, the particular reference is to the Scottish-Canadian type, which has set the national pace in the social organisation of Canada. In the Canadian Scot are often to be found the same strange contrast of qualities that is visible in the home-born Caledonian, but the influence of climate and environment must be given its place in the evolution of a transplanted type. There is no question but that the Canadian climate, being as it is one of wide extremes, is severe and rigorous. The Canadian farmer, who till the development of urban communities on a large scale in the last decade, formed the social core of the community, has ever had to battle with the hostile forces of nature in

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order to live, and there has been developed in him the qualities of energy, perseverance, and strength. On the other hand, he can never altogether escape from a sense of the overwhelming forces of nature to which he has often to submit, and as a result there is developed side by side with the energy a certain attitude of hopelessness in face of great difficulties, together with a lack of staying power. But the very fact that he has been hardened, under stern conditions, by the struggle for existence has endowed the Canadian with a genuine sympathy for the sufferings and hardships of his fellow-men. Hence there is in the mass of the community a certain kindness of heart, which is principally revealed in a lavish hospitality, and which asks no questions as to the recipient's antecedents. There is, however, also present in his composition a stoical insensibility to certain of the finer aspects of life, which the bitterness of his struggle with nature has implanted in him. There is rarely much sign of generous sympathy with suffering in the abstract. The blend of human charity and brutish stolidity which often characterises the Canadian temperament should not be considered as a paradox, but rather as the result of the two-fold lesson learned in the bitter school of pioneer life, and the long and cruel war waged against nature.

The proud, independent individualism of the Scot was the fruit of the nation's fate and history, and no more magnificent weapon for the defence of national integrity has ever been forged. But this particular temperament must always face adversity in order to attain its highest development. The Scot, if untamed by adversity, or improved by education, can rarely face

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immoderate prosperity with success. When he ceases to have trials of his own, or to be confronted daily with the memory of trials endured by others for his sake, sympathy goes, the independent spirit becomes proud and domineering, the worst features of the national temperament—selfishness and bad faith—begin to emerge, and the kindly, sympathetic Scottish nature is swamped by the uprising of baser qualities. There is no doubt that the original Scots settlers did much for Canada. To her making, they brought imagination, sentiment, and sympathy, and even to-day in many rural districts this kindly Scottish type, so often found at its best in the tenant of a Galloway farm or the forester on a Perthshire estate, is to be met with and admired.

The early Scottish settlers were scattered amid the Ontario forests, each hewing for himself a home by super human effort and splendid endurance and perseverance. The greater part of their trade was conducted in kind and by barter, gold and silver being rare commodities. The Scots brought also into play their inborn aptitude for finance, and developed the banking system of Canada to its present state of efficiency. Their imagination, audacity, and perseverance made them the pioneers and leaders in the vast enterprises of railroad construction, which have been so prominent a feature of the later life of the Dominion. There were others of these immigrants, endowed with an industrial training, who founded the manufacturing industries. The woollen trade of Canada, for instance, is almost entirely in the hands of Scots and their descendants, whilst many of the ablest and most notable of the Canadian financiers have Scottish names and boast a Scottish origin.

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But times have changed in Canada during the last twenty years, and new forces have entered into her civilisation. There has been a period of wondrous material development and wanton business prosperity. It has been shared in by the whole community, and has noticeably affected the national life. From a country of which the backbone was the yeoman, and wherein cities were few and comparatively small, Canada has become a modern commercially organised community, dominated by a series of great cities. As long as the Scots Canadian enjoyed only a modest amount of worldly success he did much to mitigate the hardships and difficulties of Canadian life, but there are now grave fears that the last two decades which have witnessed the spread of phenomenal prosperity have begun to destroy some of the best national traits in many of the sons of Scotland who have attained to worldly wealth. In the absence of hardships and trials, the crude, selfish, domineering temperament creeps out again. Too often the successful Canadian Scot has insufficient ethical and intellectual balance to face great prosperity, and the results are grievous to contemplate.

The greatest danger to the development of a healthy national life in Canada lies in the existence of a closely allied cabal of enormously wealthy financiers, who have already acquired a gigantic hold over the natural resources and economic fortunes of the country. The plutocratic class has undoubtedly performed great services in the physical organisation of Canadian life, but it is now more than questionable if their predominance, and many of their operations, have not become a menace to the national health. It is a common

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error of belief that Canada is a rich country. In comparison with the older established states of Europe, she is a poor community. Dollars are comparatively scarce, and the man who acquires a large fortune has generally to take it from someone else. Now the fact that he has to take it from someone else does not tend to raise his moral standard, and it is not to be gainsaid that the business methods and tactics employed in many Canadian enterprises have not earned for Canada the unmixed commendation of European financiers. The thoroughness of the Scot has to a certain extent disappeared, and has been replaced by a slipshod carelessness in execution which no amount of enterprising audacity can conceal or counterbalance. But the main indictment against the Canadian plutocrat applies to that period when his wealth has been acquired. There are, of course, honourable exceptions, but, as a class, the Canadian plutocracy fails to attain even to the low standards of the American plutocracy. There have been outstanding examples of generosity and munificence, but in general rich Canadians are not patrons of art and letters, nor are their public benefactions either generous or numerous. Their worst fault, however, is their disinclination to public service of any kind, and their failure sufficiently to recognise their duties to the community to which they belong, and from which they have drawn their wealth. In the stately magnificence of their houses, and in the elaborate splendour of their hospitalities they aim at, if they fail to reach, a patrician standard and "atmosphere." Their minds, however, still retain the impress of the least attractive of the plebeian characteristics. Their creed is

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too often one of selfish individualism. In fine, they do not sufficiently realise that if wealth has its privileges it also has its responsibilities.

Again, the plutocracy of Canada is all too prone to dabble in politics. Rich men subscribe largely to the funds of both parties, and in return exact special favours from them as soon as their tools have attained office. It better suits their ends to possess political power behind the scenes, and to work for their objects through the corrupt elements which exist in each of the two great parties, than to undertake the trouble and responsibility of personally entering Parliament. The result is that there are good grounds for the charge that Canada is to-day governed in reality by a communism of organised capital, which takes hold of one party and supports it as long as it is useful for its business purposes, but discards it the moment it finds that the democratic feeling of the community has been aroused by the party's misdeeds and sacrifices of the public interests. As soon as this has come to pass, it takes up the other party, and finances it into power in order to exact another set of favours.

Thus, the successful Canadian Scot has, with certain honourable exceptions, failed to live up to one of the best traditions of his race. In Scotland, the successful manufacturer or financier who finds himself in possession of an ample competence retires in most cases to some country estate, where he finds himself living side by side with leisured neighbours, who exercise a considerable influence on his later career and pursuits. The tradition of unpaid public service may have waned elsewhere in recent years, but it still exists in Scotland,

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with the result that the successful man of business who buys an estate finds himself compelled to follow the traditions of public duty prevailing among his neighbours, if he wishes to have their respect and to enjoy their society. There is no such influence in Canada tending to the smooth and honest management of public affairs. There is not even a considerable military society to afford a rival social standard by way of offset to the dull, depressing reign of unbridled materialism. The result is that mere wealth has exclusive possession of the social field. The successful trader or financier obtains easy access to the highest social quarters, without his being called on to do any service to the public, or contracting any social liability in regard to his poorer neighbours. The wealthy man has no inducements to go into politics, and as a result the richer classes hold aloof from public life to a very injurious extent. A governor-general, who should refuse to grant the *entrée* to his society to people who claim it merely because they are rich, would perform a great service to the Dominion.

But if certain flaws in the Scots character have undergone excessive development by transportation to Canada, certain peculiar Scottish virtues have become deeply impressed on the civilisation of the Dominion. Scotland is a democracy in a sense in which few other European states are or ever have been. Canada's original foundation, it is true, was laid by anti-democratic stocks—a French military society and Tory refugees from the United States. It was governed by a military and bureaucratic system, and the proceedings and transactions of the "Family Compact" are too familiar

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to bear repetition. William Pitt entertained the idea of creating a titled, landed, and official caste, whose members were to be charged with the destinies of the country ; and in reality, from the time of Wolfe's victory till 1837, such a caste held unbridled sway. It was, however, a Scotsman, William Lyon MacKenzie, aided and backed by Radicals, chiefly of Scottish extraction, who led the fight for reform. They saw that it could only be won by some display of force, so the standard of revolt was raised in 1837, and though the rising was suppressed after some bloodshed, yet the work was done, and the cause was gained. Downing Street became alarmed : the existence of wide-spread evils was forcibly driven home. Lord Durham's mission followed, and responsible government came in due course. It is true that Papineau and his followers in Quebec co-operated in the attack upon the corrupt colonial oligarchy, but the main driving force for reform came from the Scots rural democracy of Ontario. And this same democracy has been the backbone of Canadian Liberalism ever since. It gave Canada Alexander Mackenzie (the most upright and honest of all her statesmen), and Sir John Macdonald, who, if he was the leader of a Conservative party, had a mind and a spirit of enterprise that bore few traces of Toryism. But even his unique personality and Scots name, though it won much Highland support, failed to secure the allegiance of the Lowland Liberalism of Ontario. For thirty years the Scottish Liberals of Ontario remained staunchly loyal to another Scot, Sir Oliver Mowat, who was Premier for near quarter of a century. They loyally supported him in his many controversies on provincial

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rights with Sir John Macdonald, and provided most of his ablest lieutenants. Indeed, it is safe to say that at least one half of the Liberal leaders of Canada, since the beginnings of responsible government, have been of Scottish extraction and the Presbyterian faith.

It is true that Ontario now is staunchly Tory, and that the driving force of its inherited Liberalism has apparently decreased, but Liberalism only declined in the Liberal Scots when it came in conflict with their Presbyterianism; and the fact that the Liberal party has been led by a French Catholic Premier for the last twenty-five years, has done much to alienate the Ontario Scots from Liberalism. Presbyterianism is still a more precious creed to these Canadians than even Liberalism. Beneath the surface of Canadian politics there always lurk the smouldering embers of the fires of religious controversy—fires which are wont to burst into occasional flame over educational problems. There is in Ontario constant conflict about the rights of the Catholic minorities, which the Protestants are eager to reduce to a minimum. The French Catholics of Quebec have naturally championed the cause of their minority in Ontario, and in consequence many Liberals have been driven by religious sentiment into the Tory camp. It is true that the election of 1911 was fought mainly on reciprocity, but acute observers believe that nothing contributed so much to the disastrous defeat of Sir Wilfred Laurier in Ontario as the feeling of displeasure aroused among many of his Scottish Presbyterian supporters by his participation in the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal the previous year. They felt, unreasonably no doubt, that Sir Wilfred Laurier's

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participation was too marked, and that a Liberalism which is allied to Catholicism cannot be healthy. Hundreds of Ontario Scots joined Orange Lodges at a period when the Orange party in Canada, as a result of the Laurier regime, had become closely allied to the Tory machine. In consequence of these misunderstandings Ontario at present returns a solid Tory majority of sixty to the Federal house, and supports, in the provincial legislature, the Conservative, Sir James Whitney, in like measure. But that the Radicalism of the Ontario Scots still persists is abundantly proved by the policies of the Whitney Government. Its leanings towards a wide extension of public ownership and many other reforms show that it is more radical in practice than are, or were, many so-called Liberal governments. The leaders of Ontario Conservatism realise that their Protestantism must be supplemented by an active Radicalism in social matters, if they are to retain office; and they direct their measures and tactics in accordance with that belief. The Presbyterianism of Canada is a direct heritage from Scotland. It has happily long been freed from the sectarian differences which have burdened the Presbyterian Church in its native land, and it has likewise retained many of its finest characteristics. But the presence of an equally powerful body of Catholic opinion, in which, by the way, the Scottish Catholic element is very strong, has developed in Canadian Presbyterianism a certain bitterness and narrowness of outlook which are quite unworthy of the best traditions of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Ontario Presbyterianism partakes too largely of the Ulster brand, and unfortunately its main *raison d'être*

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often seems to be rather to attack Catholicism than to advance religion.

In the English-speaking provinces the educational system was founded on the Scottish model, and if it has now been affected by American influences it still retains many of its original features. Scotland has long enjoyed a system of good education, the main idea being that in each community there should be some sort of educational institution accessible to the poorest in the land. The idea of the existence of a special class of privileged schools for the sons and daughters of the upper classes was never regarded with much favour by the people of Scotland, though it has long been popular in England. Canada followed the example of Scotland, and the early Ontarian Scots made their educational system thoroughly democratic. Rural schools were the primary unit, and collegiates and high schools were established in important cities. As coping-stones to the educational edifice, universities like M'Gill, Toronto, and Queen's were established; but these institutions have more in common with Edinburgh and St Andrew's Universities than with either Oxford or Cambridge. The fees and cost of residence, if not as low as they are at the Scottish Universities, are much less considerable than those which obtain at the two great English seats of learning. The social life at Queen's and M'Gill's is quite as democratic as that of Aberdeen or Glasgow University. The students are not an "outlander" class, but are part and parcel of the community in which they are established. Some educational establishments, modelled on the lines of the English public schools, have recently sprung up in

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eastern Canada. These obtain the patronage of the wealthier classes, but it is doubtful if any of these schools are, as regards scholarship and capacity for character building, up to the standard of the best English public schools, though their friends assert that they are successful in imparting a certain veneer (English) to such of the youth of the upper classes of Canada as resort to them. A system of education which is purely democratic has its disadvantages. Character is largely formed at school and university, and pure democracy is inclined to level the character-standard down to an average which is not satisfactory. A caste system should not be possible in Canada, but it ought to be feasible to erect higher standards of honour and public service among the community. A few great public schools, modelled so as to suit Canadian conditions, would well serve the interests of the State in many ways. But these schools are never likely to be numerous, and Canada seems destined to continue to enjoy a system of democratic education and cheap universities, based on the model of the great Scottish seats of learning.

On the whole, it may safely be said that the influence which the Scottish race has exercised on Canada has been more for good than for evil. One of the great services rendered by Scotland consists in the strengthening and steadying effect which Scottish ideas have had on Canadian civilisation. The Scots came with definitely fixed traditions and habits of thought and business, and when the sons of the race were thrown into the medley of peoples which constitutes the Canadian democracy, this innate determination and strength enabled the

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Scottish incomers to enforce a large leaven of these traditions, habits, and methods on the community at large. Probably, in the process, the Scottish standards have deteriorated somewhat, but the general effect has been to raise the level of the conglomerate mass to a higher plane of civilisation than might otherwise have been achieved. But Scotland's greatest service to Canada consists in her generous contribution of sentiment and romance. The home-born Scot is often amazed at the enthusiasm prevailing in Canada for Scottish songs and literature. The most popular form of public entertainment in many a Canadian town is a Scottish concert, and when Miss Jessie Maclachlan, or some other well-known singer, arrives from the homeland, the crowds which besiege the doors of the concert-hall are strangely reminiscent of a "Celtic v. Rangers" match at Parkhead on New Year's day. Canadians attach great importance to their Scottish blood, though in many cases the connection can only be described as exceedingly remote. A Burns Club, a Gaelic, and a St Andrew's Society exist in every city of note, and people who are three generations out from the home-bred Scot are as eager to join as the latest arrival. Scottish history and romance are much better known in Canada than English. Indeed, it might almost be said that Canada has borrowed Scotland's past, and made it her own. The idealistic sentiments which the romantic traditions of Scotland give forth are too often the sole rays of light illuminating the materialistic darkness which threatens to engulf the civilisation of the Dominion. If Scotland had done nothing for Canada except to give her the songs of Robert Burns and the

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Gaelic poets, her contribution to Canadian civilisation would be of infinite worth. The tie between Scotland and Canada is maintained by this link of song and sentiment, and it would not be amiss to say that the poems of Burns are, as far as the maintenance of the connection is concerned, of more value than ship-loads of orations from peregrinating "Imperialists."

The attitude of the Canadian Scot to his ancestral land is one of mystic devotion and idealism. He often overdraws the picture "of the green hills far away," and fails to understand that there are serious flaws and blots on Scotia's civilisation. He makes frequent pilgrimages to her shores, and many are the Canadians who are as well acquainted with the beauty spots of Scotland as are the natives themselves. But the Canadian Scot is none the less loyal to his own country and its independence. His inborn sense of the long struggle for nationality waged by his ancestors renders him a devout and zealous supporter of Canadian nationalism. He feels towards the United States the same distrust and antagonism as Fletcher of Saltoun felt towards England in 1700, and any idea of union with the American Republic is as distasteful to him as the Union of 1707 was so to the majority of the Scottish people of that date.

On the other hand, the creed or sentiment known as "Imperialism" is not as strong in the Canadian Scot as it is in his countryman of English origin. He has the shrewdness to see through the many frothy artificialities which have grown up like fungi around the Imperialistic cult, and he dislikes a creed with which so much unreality and hypocrisy has been interwoven.

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Modern Imperialism, especially since the advent of Tariff Reform, has been too much assumed to be a sort of monopoly of the English race, and the Canadian Scot is not a little weary of being continually preached at by wild "Missionaries of Empire." It is to Scotland alone that his thoughts turn, and whilst he would be prepared to shed his last drop of blood and to spend his last dollar for her sake, if it were necessary, he has no particular enthusiasm or affection for England. Invariably, in his own mind, does he place Canada before the Empire, and most Canadian Scots are of opinion that the task of making Canada a civilised and prosperous community is sufficiently great and difficult to occupy the attention and energies of all her enlightened and public-spirited citizens, without their assuming more than they can avoid of the burdens and responsibilities of Empire. This may be a selfish creed, but, after all, it is a natural sentiment, and must be reckoned with.

The history of his nation tells the Canadian Scot that the maintenance of a proud local nationalism is not incompatible with allegiance to a wider organisation of Empire, and his sense of thrift discerns the economy and safety of a link of that kind. Yet he feels that Canadian nationality is not too firmly rooted, and that it requires his utmost endeavours in order to increase its stability. The Imperial system and organisation which will obtain his support must, therefore, be of such a kind as will in no way interfere with the natural growth of Canadian nationality. Ideas taken from outside sources will never recommend themselves to this country. Only within the circle of complete nationality can there be developed an Imperial system consonant with the political aspirations,

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conditions, and the temperamental genius of the different nationalities comprising the Empire. Canada shares with Scotland and Ireland the suspicion that the people of England are jealous of the other nationalities which have helped to build up the Empire, and one of the great obstacles to a sane Imperial organisation is the failure of many worthy Englishmen to realise that these great over-seas communities have become full-grown nations, and are no longer to be regarded or treated as interesting outlying tenant-farms. If Scotland could be persuaded of the feasibility of Imperial federation, her conversion would go a long way towards engaging Canada. Nothing would do more to hasten this conversion than the extension of Home Rule to Scotland and Ireland.

Scotland's contribution to Canada is not closed. To-day the passion in Canada is for quantity rather than quality, and her greatest danger is that she may measure national values in terms of immigration statistics, and real-estate increments. Scotland long ago learned the lesson that a nation cannot live by bread alone, and her soil is studded with living memories of deeds and sacrifices for principles and creeds. In the light of existing world-tendencies, the only hope for a numerically small nation like Scotland is to develop quality in her people. Quantity is impossible for her, even should the fidelity of her exiled sons continue unabated through the ages. Her rôle should be so to organise her civilisation that it may bring more sweetness and light to the mass of her people, to cherish faithfully the memories and romances of the past, to hold fast to the best of the idiosyncrasies of an ancient

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race, to maintain her intellectual and educational traditions, and to grasp, through them all, the new promise of life which science and learning hold forth to mankind. Those are gloomy pessimists who think that Scotland's day is done, and they rank among the unworthiest of her sons. The peculiar intellectual and romantic qualities which are the best part of the Scottish inheritance have been given to few races with so lavish a hand. They might well form a precious leaven in a commercialised universe, and to no community should this contribution prove more valuable than to the young Dominion of Canada, dazzled and obsessed as it is to-day with material triumphs and physical achievements. Even as it is, the salt has given forth some savour, and were Scotland submerged beneath the Atlantic breakers to-morrow, there would still be an enduring monument erected to her ancient name in the rising civilisation of Canada.

J. A. STEVENSON.



The Plougher


THE Plougher went forth to plough,
In his hands were iron and wood,
Scorn and thorns on his brow,
Husks and scorn were his food.
To the great waste he took his way
To wrestle with unclean weeds and clay,
And die or ever the dawn grew day,
And lie where he had stood.

The Harvester came and reaped,
In his hands were silver and gold,
The moon-bright sickle leaped,
The sun-bright corn-waves rolled.
The flatterers shouted in the gate,
They laid him to rest in royal state,
In the ermine robe and the coronet,
In the minster grand and old.

But They who Change the Shapes,
The Bright Destroyers of Might,
The Wheels that nothing escapes,
And the Scales that weigh aright,
Have chosen the Plough for the crest of
Heaven;
And the stars on the Plougher's head are
Seven,
In his right hand he holds the levin
And shares the fields of light.

ALLEN UPWARD.

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 HE traveller we have had with us from at least as early as the days of Herodotus, but the tourist's pedigree is a much shorter, and a much less noble and interesting, affair. Is he sprung from the loins of Sterne, or is Wordsworth to be regarded as the innocent author of his being? The former was certainly no traveller in the usually accepted sense. He wandered sentimentally about from familiar place to familiar place. He discovered nothing, nor meant to do so. His "adventures," such as they were, were just those that might appeal to any modern tripper who keeps a diary, and has an observant eye. There may not have been much of the tourist-spirit in Sterne—he was altogether too accomplished and imaginative a traveller for that—but at least he unbent so far as to "go on holiday," like modern mortals. It is true he used no motor-car, and carried no golf-clubs. We do not know that he was even mildly interested in scenery. He gives no indication that he took pleasure in ruins, or was in the least degree concerned about the cooking and the sanitary arrangements of the divers hostelries at which he put up. Yet, for all that, he was, on one occasion at least, a kind of tourist. He was just a

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sentimental traveller like unto thousands of the strangers now within our national gates. He had genius: probably they have not; and of such are the differences that count made up. Nevertheless, there is something to be said for the contention that Sterne was the forerunner of the tourist.

Probably, however, Sterne was only the sower of the seed which the kindly and sentimental sun of Wordsworth's genius caused to come forth and to bear so plentiful a crop. Wordsworth was what is called a "close observer" of nature. He loved scenery, and published his love of it in much more than respectable verse. Indeed, the poet was to "scenery" much what Arnold was to "culture." Both men were the founders of flourishing vogues, whose end is not yet. Moreover, the mind of Wordsworth was tinged with that sentimentalism of which the tourist-spirit itself is so largely made up. Wordsworth's peculiar attitude towards nature you will not find amongst the Romans and the Greeks, though it is a common mistake to suppose that the classic poets were blind. If they were so, it was only to the more stern and majestic attractions of nature. The English bard was essentially a tourist. He had the tourist-spirit within him. He put up at an hotel in his favourite lake district; rose up betimes the following morning, ate a substantial breakfast, and, climbing a hill, admired nature from the top, just as thousands of ordinary clay tourists have done, and, doubtless, will continue to do—only, the commonplace expletives of the tripper attained, in Wordsworth's "appreciations," a rare height of felicity and even grandeur of utterance. Much the same sentimentalism

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characterises Hazlitt's essay "On going a journey." Here again, we have an author mightily moved by the tourist-spirit—that strange combination of hygienics and sentimentalism. "There is hardly anything (he says) which shows the shortsightedness or capriciousness of the imagination more than travelling does. With change of place, we change our ideas: nay, our opinions and feelings." But Hazlitt was only half a poet. He is an utilitarian with a mission. He recommends you to seek change, and to take mental exercise, primarily because both are good for the digestion. The doctor tells him so. He has none of Wordsworth's deep, almost passionate, sympathy with nature. His attitude is such that he regards a beautiful prospect much as a zealous dominie might be expected to regard a flourishing class of intelligent boys, or a physician an exceptionally sound physique. Yet Hazlitt, too, "touches" the tourist-spirit in one of its softest spots when he says: "we go a journey chiefly to be free of all impediments, and of all inconveniences." We do: but we don't always achieve our object!

But, whatever the genesis of the tourist, as distinct from the traveller, he is manifestly unto us, like the poor, not for a passing season, but for all time. And we in Scotland should make the most of him, and fare not badly in the process. We have fine health-giving air, splendid hills, a land diversified with firth and wood and loch, and boasting some of the finest scenery in Europe, to offer him. Ours, too, is a country teeming with romance, and venerable as few others are on account of the visible remains of a richly storied past. These attractions, and many more that could be mentioned,

are infinitely grateful to the tourist-spirit, for on material such as this is it nourished and fed. The commercial value to Edinburgh of Queen Mary and "Bonnie Prince Charlie" must be immense. Who that is bemused with the small beer of statistics can state it, even approximately, in terms of hard cash? The troubled story of the nation's past has brought its tardy recompenses to the modern people, inasmuch as Profit and Patriotism go hand in hand amongst us, and the two great irreconcilables, Sentiment and Business, have kissed each other. The land of mountain and of shaggy wood would not charm half as wisely and as well as all allow that it does appeal, were it not for that fortunate conjuncture of circumstances which has peopled its glens and straths with the memories of the picturesque men of old, and with the recollection of their imperishable deeds for weal or woe. There is scarce a town or a district of Scotland in which the imprint of the footsteps of romance is not to be clearly traced, and in which the "amenities" demanded by the tourist-spirit are not present in varying measure, and a more or less engaging degree. Nor is this bonnie land of ours a less generous caterer as regards the wants and requirements of the unsentimental tourist, and those of the stranger within our gates who, on the beauteous tear-stained countenance of romance, are wont to turn a cold and unglad eye. Divers are the attractions, and numerous the forms, proffered by sport, according as it obtains in the Scotland of to-day. "The Mecca of golf" is situated in our midst; and are not the altars of the deity that presides over the interests and the destinies of that popular game erected wherever site and men may justify

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their establishment? Take the case of the moors, too. Doubtless, not every one who goes up to these arrayed in the purple and fine linen of the tweed-maker and the fashionable haberdasher is to be regarded as a conscious tribute to the prevalence of the tourist-spirit; but at all events the man who rents or owns a shooting is a commercial asset of no small value to the nation. He comes, too, with the tourist proper; and for the most part he departs with him. Like the sentimentalist "on holiday," he sends money a-circulating through the country. He employs local labour; assists the hotels to pay their way; purchases food-stuffs of the local merchants, and in many another way gilds the lowering cloud which ardent land-reformers detect in his person and his influence.

Such, in brief, are a few of Scotland's innumerable amenities as a tourist centre. But a land flowing with the milk and honey of exceptional opportunity in this respect has hitherto been left largely unexploited by those whose business it should be to improve those natural and acquired advantages to their utmost capacity. Whence comes this strange neglect—this seemingly thriftless indifference to the value of the resources with which nature and man have combined to endow our country? We Scots enjoy a considerable reputation, deserved or undeserved, for being a "canny" people. As a nation we are universally supposed to have an uncommonly keen eye for the main chance. Yet, in this case, as in some others I could mention, and by reason of which we enjoy a largely groundless reputation, it is greatly to be feared that we are not half as wise as we look. Certain tourist centres

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have lately done a moderate amount of advertising in the public press. Towns like Inverness, Strathpeffer, etc., have compiled and published booklets in praise of their respective merits and attractions from the tourist's point of view; but such feeble, spasmodic, and, for the most part, amateurish undertakings are not to be compared with those of a similar character on which the more enterprising communities of other countries have embarked, greatly to their own material advantage and that of the nations to which they belong. The Swiss, German, French, and Italian authorities are much more alive to the necessity of systematic and persistent advertising in the public press, with a view to attracting the tourist, than are the corresponding bodies at home. The foreigners conduct their operations on a greatly larger scale. They spend annually a vast deal of money in this form of propaganda, and that they find their account in it is proved by their continuance of the practice, and by the always increasing sums of money "ear-marked" by them for this particular purpose. In some foreign States, this form of national enterprise is under the protection of the government, which is sensible of the importance of the tourist traffic, and is only too desirous to do what it can to encourage it, and to assist it to achieve the desired results on the lines which experience has proved to be the best. Certain of the Dominions and Colonies of the British Empire are now showing a commendable desire to follow in the footsteps of a practice which originated, I believe, in the foresight and enterprise of the Germans. It is true that hitherto Canada, New Zealand, and Australia have been more concerned about attracting settlers

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to their sparsely populated lands than they have been desirous to entice the tourist to their shores. These first-mentioned endeavours have throughout been State-supported and State-directed ; and by their results—however disastrous these may have been to Scotland—they have been justified. But, with the shrinkage in emigration, there has arisen a tendency to address the appeal to the tourist, as well as to the settler. New Zealand possesses admirable facilities for sport : they are accordingly well and attractively advertised. Certain parts of Canada are a land of promise, so far as the hunter is concerned : the attractions of these districts are accordingly paraded in neat and readable booklets, as well as in well drawn-up advertisements in the Scottish and English periodical press. Here, as in those other fields I have indicated, there is commendable enterprise. Money to secure the end in view is abundantly forthcoming. The best intellects in the advertising trade are employed in order to give the newspaper announcements their proper weight, and nothing is left undone that can be done by means of attractive type, artistic illustration, good paper, and respectable, if not brilliant letterpress, with a view to engaging the tourist's attention.

I have drawn attention to the above particulars in order to remind the public at home of what is being done outside Scotland, with the object of encouraging and increasing a very lucrative form of national enterprise. And though comparisons may be sometimes odious, yet on occasion they perform a very useful service in reminding those in whose interests they are drawn that they are not as wide-awake and as attentive to their own interests as common report, or their own

conceit, affirms that they are. In Scotland, little has yet been done in a public way to organise and to improve to the common advantage the tourist traffic, though few, if any, countries can claim to be as favourably situated as is our own land in regard to the facilities, the attractions, and the amenities that can be offered to the intelligent tourist. Instead of attending to its domestic affairs, and doing its best to develop the civilisation and the natural resources of the country, the nation, like the proverbial fool of old, has intently fixed its eyes on the ends of the earth. "In all ages," says Francis Hutcheson, one of the bright particular stars of Scottish philosophy, "there has been too much patience in the body of the people, and too stupid a veneration for their princes or rulers." The Scottish nation of to-day is altogether too patient of the political disabilities under which the nation labours in consequence of the incorporating Union of 1707. No machinery, or facilities, exist in modern Scotland in order to place the tourist traffic on a sound national business basis. It will scarcely be believed, but it is the truth, that our land laws are still in so parlous and backward a condition that on many estates the people are not allowed to entertain summer visitors, which is a particularly cruel denial of liberty in the case of these poor people since, under different conditions, the power to let their houses would be of material assistance to them in their struggles to provide the rent, and, instead of emigrating, to maintain on Scottish soil themselves and their families in some respectable measure of decency and comfort. Does any sane man believe for a moment that disabilities of this kind would be suffered to exist under a national government?

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A further glaring instance of how Scotland is penalised in consequence of the legislative connection with England falls to be alluded to under the heading of this paper. On the initiative of the County Councils Association and that of the Convention of Burghs, Sir George Younger, supported by Mr Ainsworth, Mr Harry Hope, and Captain Waring, introduced in the House of Commons a bill to empower local authorities in Scotland to impose a rate for advertising health resorts and watering places. The later history of this belated effort constitutes instructive, if not agreeable, reading. The bill, owing to the press of other business, had no chance of passing. It was, accordingly, dropped; but Sir George Younger, who was desirous to see the principle of his measure (so far as that regarded Scotland) placed on the Statute-book, persuaded Sir Thomas Roe, who is in charge of an English bill of the same kind, to incorporate the Scottish proposals in the measure which that gentleman is in charge of. After the usual delays, the English bill passed through the Grand Committee, and is now on the paper for consideration by the Westminster Parliament; but when it will be passed, or if it will receive the royal assent at all this side the Greek kalends, are questions which, in the present posture of affairs, it would be useless to discuss and vain to speculate on. The significant fact to note is, that a mere Scots measure stands no earthly chance of passing; and even when one or two of its clauses are humbly and dutifully tacked on to an English bill, it is like to be indefinitely held up owing to the congested condition of the legislative machinery at Westminster.

But, regarded in the most favourable light, Sir Thomas Roe's bill only touches the fringe of a very important matter. The principal clause of the measure, which is applicable to Scotland, bears that, from and after the passing of this Act, the Town Council of any burgh, or the County Council of any county, may advertise the advantages and amenities of the burgh, or of a special district in the county formed under the Public Health (Scotland) Act, or the Local Government (Scotland) Act respectively, as a health resort or watering place, by the insertion of advertisements in newspapers, not published within the area of such burgh or special district, or by placards or otherwise, as they may see fit, and may expend money for the purpose, provided that the sums so expended shall not in any one financial year exceed the amount that could be raised by a rate of one penny in the pound on the rateable value of the burgh or special district. Assuming that this English bill with its Scottish clause obtains the sanction of Parliament, a modest beginning will thereby have been made, and something (though not much) will have been done to systemise the tourist traffic, and to secure for it that State recognition of which it stands in need. As I have already observed, however, Sir Thomas Roe's bill can only be regarded as a very modest and tentative effort in the direction indicated by its provisions. As the Scottish amenities in regard to the tourist traffic, and our dependence thereon, are, relatively to population, of so much greater importance to Scotland than they can justly be held to be so in respect of England, it is obvious that what may conceivably suit and satisfy

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the conditions of the sister kingdom cannot be regarded as being at all answerable to the peculiar requirements of Scotland. This matter of the tourist traffic and its proper organisation should therefore be taken up and thrashed out in a Scottish parliament; we have had enough and to spare of puny, blundering, and tinkering Westminster efforts to manage our national affairs.

Meantime, the various local authorities should do what admits of being done, on an individual footing, in order to conserve the existing amenities of Scotland as a tourist centre, and to increase the vogue which our country enjoys by reason of the abundant attractions which it offers to the stranger. Our magnificent scenery, our healthy air, and the romantic associations which are the gift of our past, we cannot be despoiled of, nor could any neglect or ill-advised action on our part detract from the value of those unique possessions, supposing that the nation were foolish enough to fall into the one error or into the other. But a negative, or even a passive attitude in respect of these exceptional endowments would be contrary to sound policy. Setting national sentiment aside altogether, our scenery is an asset of very considerable commercial value; and nothing that tends to the prejudice of that asset should be tolerated. Again, the people of Scotland in general would do well to reflect that a nation's characteristics have an interest and a value quite apart from that which is derived from the mere fact of their existence, and from their operation as quantities contributing to their own psychology. It would be a much duller world than it is if all men thought, and spoke, and acted alike. Variety is

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pleasing, and is as wholesome as the salt of the earth. If the Scottish people were to lose their national characteristics, and were to lay aside their peculiar manners and customs in slavish obedience to outside dictation, or in conformity with the subtle suggestions of a vulgar cosmopolitanism, then would they be guilty of conduct as foolish and as reprehensible as that of the man who, the silly bubble of his own greed, incontinently slaughtered the goose that laid the golden eggs. National manners and customs (where such are useful and respectable) are worth cultivating for their own sakes, since they are the outward and visible signs by which we may distinguish one nation from another; but, in connection with the subject which I am presently discussing, they have an additional value—a value which is not ethical but material. Every intelligent tourist rejoices to encounter frequent reminders of the fact that though the whole world may be kin, yet it is not all alike. On material, as well as on ethical grounds, therefore, the Scottish nation would do well to lay the truth I am preaching solemnly to heart, namely, that Scotland is Scotland, and that any attempt to deprive our country of its individuality, and to assimilate its manners and customs to those of other countries and peoples, so as to produce, as the result of those endeavours, a dead level of monotony and uniformity would be shocking bad policy, as well from the moral point of view as from that of the commercial interests of the nation. Everything, therefore, which tends agreeably to distinguish our country from those that surround it, should be encouraged by us. When he crosses the

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Border, the tourist should be agreeably reminded that he is in Scotland—not in England, Timbuctoo, or anywhere else. Pleasing variety and change of air and scenery and surroundings are what the average tourist who has a head on his shoulders is “out” for. He does not come amongst us to be yet further Anglicised, if he is an Englishman, or to be plagued and teased with the shoddy faith of the Cosmopolitan, if he is a man of the world; and such hopeless expressions as the “Brighton of the North” (sometimes applied to Nairn), or the “Charing Cross of the Highlands” (sometimes applied to Oban) only sicken the intelligent incomer, instead of pleasing and propitiating him.

Owing to the outbreak of the European war, the tourist season of 1914 has been a dire and dismal failure. The hotels are empty, and tourists are scarce. The moors are bare of all save grouse; and, under normal national conditions, now would be the time for us to begin the planning and the making of some of those great trunk-roads, the want of which has been so much bemoaned by native and tourist alike. A great part of the Highlands of Scotland, together with some of the finest scenery in Europe, are at present practically inaccessible to the tourist, owing to the absence of roads suitable for motor traffic. The road (known as Wade’s Road) which runs from Perth *via* the Spittal of Glen Shee, Braemar, Balmoral, and across the hills to Tomintoul, and from thence to Inverness, is throughout the most picturesque portion of its route forbidden ground to any tourist who has the smallest respect for his motor. To open up the country for the tourist, and to give employment at

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a time when the want of it is like to be more than usually severely felt, would be an immediate act of national charity, as well as a seasonable and suitable provision against future requirements. But, the Act of Union forbids! Just at the very time when Scotland is under the most urgent and pressing need of having her hands free, she finds them tightly tied! To engineer and carry through any national system of trunk-roads such as Scotland is urgently in need of, statutory powers in order thereto would first have to be sought and obtained from Westminster. That antiquated machine, we know, is already glutted and jammed past practical working with the press and accumulations of business that have been improperly forced into it by reason of the fact that it is the sole one of its kind throughout the length and the breadth of these islands. To make matters even worse than they usually are, a European war to the death is on the carpet, and England's attention is fully engaged. Thus, Simple Sandy has nothing for it, apparently, but, now as formerly, to exercise his patience and "wait and see!" But what a supremely ridiculous and humiliating situation for an ancient and powerful monarchy to be in!

WILLIAM WALKER.



Sexual Equality and the Vote

PRINCIPLES, like other things born into this world, are subject to decay. Circumstances may inflect them from their original lines, fashion may give them a new turn, or time may corrupt and destroy them. A pregnant and frequent cause of change in this respect is popular agitation. Many a movement has been buried under the deposits of misdirected zeal, or spoiled by the ignorant or partial interpretations of faction and clamour. At the present moment the women's cause stands in some danger of being inflected from its true purpose, and cut off from its capital principles, by reason of the unmeasured vagaries of a portion of the female sex. The "Wild Women" have usurped hold on the steering wheel of the suffragist movement, and are pursuing so erratic a course, that they threaten entirely to divert the attention of the public from the principles of justice and reason on which the agitation is based.

It is a pity that the activities of a few crazy zealots should have the deplorable effect of infecting the judgment, and estranging the sympathies, of the public. Unfortunately, however, movements are apt to be judged, by those who stand outside them, by their extravagancies, instead of by their sanities. The public is not easily

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persuaded to canvass to the depths a matter of principle. It is wont to judge by externals. The collective thinking capacity is small in volume, and the results are indifferent in quality. A cheap and popular press has not done much—if it has done anything—to deepen and broaden the habit of thought. On the staffs of our daily and weekly newspapers there are few, if any, disciples of Socrates. The journalistic market-places are thronged with an eager and industrious crowd of "scoop"-seekers and snap-shotters; but, among these, those are but rare who possess either the ability, or the inclination, to *think*.

The spoiling of a good cause through the channel of the absurdities and extravagancies of some of those who have committed their support to it cannot but be a fruitful source of discouragement and annoyance to such as, being equally engaged to it, have, nevertheless, preserved their principles along with their sanity. And this feeling of vexation will be the more enhanced in proportion as it is divulged that the objectors are powerless to prevent the conduct of which they complain as being damaging to their cause; and in proportion as it is seen that the injurious tactics pursued by the zealots in themselves constitute a kind of disability as regards the claims which reason and sobriety have united to put forth. Thus, the ridiculous tactics and absurd pretensions of the suffragettes operate to discourage and to discredit the cause to which the former are mistakenly associated in the public mind. By what extraordinary process of reasoning does that woman, who, with an axe cuts a hole in the surface of a masterpiece, arrive at the conviction that by so doing she supports the cause

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she designs to promote? By what dark and tortuous channels of a diseased intelligence does that woman travel who, by setting fire to a venerated church, hopes to benefit the claims of her sex? Who can plumb the seething depths of criminal imbecility in which those misguided women reside who cast themselves in front of race-horses, or smash the windows of unoffending tradespeople, in the hope of precipitating the advent of the vote? By what particular impulse or motive of extravagance are those hurried along to outrage the laws of reason and the genius of logic, who, with a view to vindicate their womanhood, drop tar into a letter-box, or insult the privacy of kings? The "Wild Women" of to-day are not unlike the witches brood in *Faust*, whose foolish and obscene antics were similarly addressed to, and entirely in dependence on, a vicarious justification.

If lucky our hits
And everything fits
'Tis thoughts, and we're thinking.

Apparently, we are to excuse these Huns and Vandals in petticoats, and to tolerate, if not to applaud, the badness of their aim because they are thinking! To hold the language of the times, they are "out" for the vote; and no matter what dangerous or extravagant form their inauspicious enlargement may take, "the Cause" is to justify the criminal's progress.

Well, therefore, may reason reprobate, and principle deplore, the unmeasured sallies of the "militant" sisterhood; but there is another aspect of their crazy proceedings to which it is desirable that attention should be drawn. The cumulative effect of so many

wanton outrages on reason and innocence cannot but be highly injurious to the cause, in whose supposed interests they have been committed; but when we look more narrowly into these violent ebullitions of misguided zeal, shall we not perceive that their basis is sex? The reader has perhaps been privileged to observe a woman in the act of casting a stone. Generally, her aim is in one direction, whilst the flight of the missile is enlivened by another.¹ Can it justly be said that a similar divergence or obliquity is usually to be detected in the mental process which separates woman from the object of her desires, and the goal of her thought? From these many glaring instances of the abuse of reason and the violation of logic, may not a sexual disability be inferred?

No small part of the feminist case is made to rest on the assertion that Woman is intellectually the equal of Man. The latter, with that gallantry with which he has always sought to invest his relations with the former, seems lately to have surrendered to the seductions of this popular impeachment. He has, it is true, mildly asked why, if woman is indeed the intellectual equal of Man, she has hitherto sought to demonstrate her equality under the misleading guise of an apparent inferiority. To this objection, Woman—at all events the more militant of my sex—fiercely replies that female inferiority (if it endures, or has ever existed) is the result of oppression by Man; and that as soon as she shall have become “emancipated” (by which expression we are

¹ “The *Central News* says the woman threw a stone wrapped in white paper at one of the windows of the palace. Her aim was bad, however, and the stone fell harmlessly to the ground.”—*Daily Paper*.

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doubtless intended to understand woman's release from tyranny, through the channel of the vote)—then we shall see what we shall see.

Excuses have been defined as half-truths ; but the probability is that we should be better adjusting our moral perspective to the exigencies of the frailties of human nature should we say that excuses are lies which possess a modicum of truth. It is not true to say that Woman's intellectual inferiority (given its existence) is due to oppression by Man ; but it is true to affirm that Woman's general opportunities have not, in the past, been as considerable as they might have been, owing to the jealousy and hostility of Man. Woman's inferiority I take to be one expression of the law of universal inequality. God has so made her that she is, admittedly, physically inferior to Man ; and if physically inferior, why not intellectually inferior—a belief which it seems to me but reasonable to hold, in view of the relative paucity of her achievements in every field and province of human endeavour which has been explored by the aspiring foot of competitive genius?

If Woman is indeed the intellectual equal of Man, how is it that the light of parity has been so long and effectually hid under the bushel of her sex, even in those fields of endeavour wherein no disabilities of Man's making can justly be said to subsist? The lesser arts and sciences of domestic life have for ages constituted Woman's particular, and almost exclusive, province ; but, when these are invaded by Man, can it truthfully be said that Woman preserves an equality, much less demonstrates her superiority, which, surely, she should be capable of doing if those are right who assert that Woman's

inferiority in other fields is solely due to want of opportunity, and to the measure and duration of the disabilities therein imposed on her by reason of the jealousy and enmity of her rival? Who is there that is accustomed to take thought as to what he shall eat or what he shall drink that does not prefer a *chef* to a female cook, or a butler to a parlour-maid? The solemn pages of the savoury records of gastronomy (as those which occur elsewhere) are strewn with moving tales of disappointed hopes and fallen ambitions; but alas! for the pride and pretensions of my sex, the Napoleons of the sauce-pan have never been equalled, much less surpassed, by women. Doubtless, these are but reeds which must bend before the majesty of the winds of public controversy; but if female ability indeed wants but opportunity in order to discover its equality with Man's, is it not passing strange that our genius does not possess a single exclusive area to which it can point as supplying presumptive evidence in favour of the theory that want of opportunity, and the abnegation of facilities, are the sole cause of the disparity between male and female achievement?¹

¹ There are three grades of cooks (female) at present preying on the vitals—and victuals—of society. I have adhibited their demerits, in the order of their respective pretensions, as follows:—

- (1) *Cooks*—Execrable (the reader is asked to excuse the vigour of my language: the sufferings of the public justify it).
- (2) *Plain Cooks*—Very execrable.
- (3) *Good Plain Cooks*—Highly destructive to human life.

I would seriously invite my sex to address themselves to the task of disproving this depressing dead-level of inferiority, before they proceed to assert any claim to equality in other directions and spheres.

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The Romans were accustomed to regard their women in a very different light to that in which the Greek genius conspired to place our sex. The Roman State was built up on the foundation of the home. Under the structure of the Roman law and constitution, the *mater familias* was loved, protected, and respected. The Greek view of woman, on the other hand, was tinged with the servitude of the East. At Athens, she was merely man's play-thing: political rights were contemptuously denied her; and her situation and circumstances were little, if anything, better than those which were associated to the tillers of the soil under the feudal system, who were sold, like dumb cattle, along with the lands which they laboured, and which gave birth to them.

But though the Roman view was, in a measure, favourable to woman, yet it, too, was derogatory to her status, and subversive of her rights. When the Empress Pulcheria ascended the throne, her accession was denounced as a weak and dangerous innovation. The Roman mind at, or about, its prime, may be ascertained, so far as it regarded the political status of woman, by the attitude adopted by Tiberius in respect of Augusta, towards whom, we may read in Tacitus, *adulatio patrum in Augustam multa*. The honours proposed by the Senate to be rendered to Augusta, were, however, displeasing to Tiberius, *ille dictitans honores feminarum moderandos, and accipiens fastigium muliebre in deminutionem sui*. Indeed, it may be affirmed with perfect truth and propriety that this jealous and somewhat contemptuous attitude ruled the classic world. The Empress Theodora was tolerated on account of her

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parts as a buffoon, and the singular beauty, not of her mind, but her person. Zenobia, queen of Palmyra and the East, was deposed from her throne in the admiration and affections of her subjects as soon as she had put the inevitable period to the march of her conquests. Semiramis was more remarkable on account of an indelicate invention, than she can be held to be respectable by reason of the love and esteem of her contemporaries and posterity. In fine, with truth may it be said that Man's attitude towards Woman in the ages that have gone fluctuated between the extremes of temporary adulation and those of settled contempt. Under the Roman constitution there was universal suffrage for males; but, under the same dispensation, the status of women, though exceptionally favourable in many respects, yet was not considered to be important enough to require, or to justify, the bestowal of the full privileges of the State.

Comparison has been drawn before now between the genius of the Greeks and that which characterised the Celts. The resemblance between the temperaments, and even the attainments and accomplishments of these two lively peoples has struck, amongst other observers, Mr Houston Chamberlain, whose writings and standpoint cannot justly be accused of being prejudiced in favour of the Celts, whose minds, he says, however, were little less supple and "fiery" than the Greeks'. But however close and faithful this resemblance may be in general, a point of departure or divergence is reached the moment we contrast the Greek and the Celtic attitude in regard to the status of women. Among the Celts, the position of Women was even more favourable to that sex than it

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was so among the Romans. Woman was a legalised entity, possessing definite political rights, and enjoying the esteem and the respect which the Latins reserved for her consideration solely as the mother of a family.¹ The Celtic opinion, as reflected on the Brehon Laws, was that Woman is as much entitled to the enjoyment of political rights as Man, only that Man is the head of the Woman, and more "noble" than she. The English translation of these celebrated laws attaches the signification of "noble" to the Gaelic word *uasal*; but I apprehend that I shall be supported in my contention by scholars of that language, when I say that the former for the latter is but an approximate interpretation. The word *uasal* implies something more than nobility, though it undoubtedly includes it. In the sense in which it is used in the Brehon Laws, I take it that the context justifies the deduction that it is employed to denote an intellectual superiority. As touching the species, Woman is Man's equal; but as touching her capacities, Man is the more "noble." If this interpretation be indeed correct, as I hope on enquiry it may be found to be, then I think that policy and reason alike invite us to rest content with it.

In the Scottish Home Rule Bill which was recently introduced into the House of Commons, I observed with pleasure that it contained a clause extending the

¹ There is extant a German charter, dated 1201, conveying a right of succession to females; but it is granted as an extraordinary mark of favour, and in reward of uncommon services. Under the Celtic dispensation husband and wife were on a footing of equality as regards the destination of what the lawyers style real estate, property being subjected to the same rules of succession in both cases.

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franchise to women. The Bill was unfortunately obliged to be laid aside on account of this contemplated act of justice and generosity on the part of its framers ; but I hope that this graceful recognition of the perspicacity and nobility of our Celtic ancestors will be re-introduced at the first favourable opportunity, and that our first Scottish Parliament since the legislative Union of 1707, will be elected on the basis of a general suffrage. The laws which govern and control the universe are, by virtue of the inscrutable decrees of Providence, based on change and inequality. For my part, I see no reason to believe that God intended Woman to be the intellectual equal of Man ; but just as the divine economy has endowed us, as well with the means of improving our material condition and advancing our knowledge, as with the capacity to derive benefit from our ceaseless struggle to wrest her secrets from Nature, so we may take it does Providence sanction and favour our efforts to redress the inequalities and disabilities of human existence, as far as we can do so, with the help of such inadequate means as man's ingenuity has placed at the common disposal.

ALBANNICA.



A Mythological Relic from Newhaven



MODERN mythology seeks modern examples. It is not content with the re-examination of the husks of classic lore, nor with wider excursions among the beliefs and rituals of barbarous peoples. It is beginning to invade our side-streets, to dissect the play-jargon of our gamins, and to tear from age-long civic custom truths which must appear to the uninitiated as very hardly won. Yet still there lurk in the shadows of publicity deities untold and unsung; invocations innumerable, and the loose ends of vanished and unrecorded rituals—ripe for gathering. A pregnant mine of such is Newhaven, and if "Brounger" does not prove to be a thunder god full-fledged, a mythological experience of some extent is egregiously at fault.

The great pantheon of mythology needs no new additions. But this latest recruit to the circle of Olympus appears to merit admission. The first recorded notice of Brounger dates from as recently as 1865, when we find him alluded to in a somewhat scarce *mélange* of local lore known as *Tales and Traditions of Leith*, as "an old fisherman, who at one time resided at Newhaven, and who, when unable to

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go to sea himself, used to ask a few oysters or fish from his neighbours on their return from fishing." When denied this neighbourly compliment, Brounger wished ill-luck to those churlish enough to refuse. The ban or curse was invariably effective, so that in the end the fishing community, anxious to propitiate an individual whose spoken word carried such weight, began to regard his demands in the light of an established claim. According to tradition Brounger passed away, but his name remained as a thing to conjure with, in the real sense. For a Newhaven fisherman to be told that "Brounger's in your head-sheets," was equivalent to the casting of a spell on his vessel and on all who sailed therein—a spell which was only to be laid by making the boat describe a circle in the water three separate times.

The student of mythology or folk-lore will at once regard this "old fisherman" with the green eye of suspicion. Why should the mariners of Newhaven regard with mistrust the mention of one of their craft who, in days more or less distant, levied a petty toll of oysters and flounders on their fathers? The folk-loreist will find the scent grow even hotter when he is informed that Brounger was "a flint and the son of a flint." For the flint is the emblem of the thunder god, and Brounger was a deity of the tempest.

Among many peoples does the flint or stone symbolise the thunder. In America, for example, Tohil, who bestowed the gift of fire upon the Kiches of Central America, was represented by a flint-stone. Such a stone in the beginning of things fell from heaven to earth, and broke into a myriad pieces from

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each of which sprang a god—an ancient Mexican legend which shadows forth the subjection of all things to him who gathers the clouds together in thunder. This is the germ of the adoration of stones as emblems of the fecundating rain. With the Algonquin Indians a certain god has a body of flint, which, broken, is metamorphosed into fruitful vines. The blood of Tawiscara, another Indian deity, turns to flint as it falls from his wounds. Hathor, the sky-goddess of Egypt, was "The Lady of Turquoise," as was the Mexican water-goddess; and without entering into the subject of fetishism, was not a black stone (worshipped at Pergamos) purchased as a luck-bringer by the Romans in the time of the second Punic war? Kronos devoured a stone in the belief that it was Zeus. It was then possible to mistake a stone for a god. Does not the "elf-arrow," the flint arrow-head of pre-historic man, appear as a thunderbolt to the peasants of all countries, Scotland not excepted? Now we begin to see why Brounger was "a flint, and the son of a flint," and lest the objection arise that the expression was merely intended to convey some idea of his greed and miserliness, we have the assurance of its recorder that "we rather incline to think that a flint means a person known or suspected to be uncanny—having some mysterious intercourse with tricky sprites, who would aid his friends or annoy his enemies." In days when the first Teutonic fishermen settled on the coast of Midlothian, they brought with them a thunder god, the root of whose name may be discovered in the old Gothic word *brinnan*, "to burn," hence Brin-ger, "The Burner," the devastator, the wielder of lightnings; or,

conformably to another word of ancient lineage, "The Striker," "He who launches the Shaft," who was worshipped in the symbol of the flint, and placated by gifts from that sea-harvest which he had power to render or to withhold from his votaries.

From the Hebridean islet of Fladdachuan, off the north coast of Lewes, comes an analogy. On the altar of the chapel of that place, says Martin in his *Western Isles*, lay a round, bluish stone, always moist. Wind-bound fishermen walked sunwise round the chapel and then poured water on the stone, whereupon a powerful breeze was sure to spring up. Solemn oaths were also sworn upon the relic. A similar stone was possessed by the inhabitants of Arran, which was kept in the custody of a woman (the hereditary priestess of the cult?) and "wrapped up in a fair linen cloth." These examples carry on the identification of stones as representatives of the rain and thunder god. In Inniskea, an island off the west coast of Ireland, a stone wrapped up in flannel is brought out at certain periods to be "adored" by the inhabitants. It is kept in a private dwelling, and is called in the Irish Neevougi, which I pray Gaelic scholars to interpret for themselves. It is consulted in times of sickness, and is solicited to grant the inhabitants harvest of wreck and flotsam. All this is within the ritual of rain-making. But Brounger, though a thunder god, was requested *not* to visit his folk with tempest, for the reason that their business lay in the furrow made by the keel, and not in that of the plough.

One certain proof that Brounger was a supernatural being exists in a fisher folk-poem extant in

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the work on Leith traditions already alluded to. A wedding celebration is in progress, when Brounger glares through the window at the merrymakers. At once a cry arises that he must be placated. Now, had he been an ordinary fisherman, he would surely have been asked "ben." But, says one of the brethren of the creel:

"Let ilka body gie'm a corse (copper piece)

And Jock may gie him twa,

An' the chiel will sune hae in his maut

Syne he'll forget it a'.

And when he's at the land o' nod

To make the matter tight,

I'll score the loon aboon the breath,

An' syne we'll be aricht."

To "score" a witch or warlock "above the breath," and thus procure some of their blood, rendered the possessors of it immune from the malice of the sorcerer. So we see that Brounger was at least no mere "Longshoreman Billy," earning a livelihood by terrorising his brother salts, but ranked in some measure with the supernatural folk as a wizard—a fate met with by many gods when their fortunes were on the wane, as witness Merlin and Odin.

LEWIS SPENCE.

The Gael in Galloway

I READ with great interest the article on *Traces of the Celt in the Lowlands*, and, as I live on the Border, and spend much of my time in Kirkmaiden, the most

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southerly parish in Scotland, Professor Rait's paper was of more than ordinary interest to me. The Professor says Gaelic was spoken in parts of Wigtownshire as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that statement is more than likely to be correct, as, at the present day, there are many Gaelic words in daily use among the older inhabitants. For instance, when a man is going to lift turf, he does not use that word but says he is going to lift "scraws" (Gaelic *sgrath*), and when the cottager's wife goes to feed the pig she does not cry "Pig! Pig!" but "Turc! Turc!" (Gaelic *tuirc*). Another example of Gaelic verbal survival in the Lowlands is forthcoming in the word *brat*, commonly used for an apron or pinafore. Then there is "sally rod," a common expression being, "I am going to cut a sally rod," from *seileach*, a willow; in Lowland Scots, "a saugh wand." Another word, but one which is seldom heard nowadays, is *bodach*, used to denote an old "done" man—sometimes a greedy, niggardly person. Bannock is still in use among the older inhabitants, though the article itself is rarely seen. This word is derived from *bonnach*, a cake. Drum, Gaelic *druim*, as applied to a rounded long ridge of land, is still in common use with farm workers. Among fish, there is the "glassin," which is most likely derived from Gaelic *glas* (grey), as the "glassin" is of a greyish colour. I say nothing here as to the local place-names, most of which are Gaelic.

Reverting to the subject of when Gaelic ceased to be in common use in this part of Scotland, it is well known that when the "Highland Host" was let loose on the South-west in Covenanting days, the Gaels were

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surprised to find that the Southerners spoke and understood Gaelic. The writer himself has conversed with more than one old person, who, in early youth, had spoken to old people who had heard Galloway people, born and bred, speak Gaelic.

ANDREW DONALDSON.



was to find that the Scotchman spoke and understood Gaelic. The water himself has covered more than one old person who in early youth had spoken to old people who had heard Galloway

Eachan Donn

I



As far as anybody knew, old Tearlach Mór had never done an honest day's work in his life. How he existed was a mystery. He was a landmark in Kilmorich. None knew his age. The oldest inhabitant could not remember when Tearlach was young. The children regarded him with awe, and whispered that he was in league with the Devil, who gave him perpetual life. There certainly was an uncanny air about him, accentuated by his deep piercing eyes and snow-white hair. In the old days they would have burned him at the stake. He was accredited with having the gift of second sight in greater measure than any other man, and the older natives of the clachan will still tell you how by Tearlach's powers was discovered the body of the lord of Kilmorich, which was fished up from the Black Loch full sixty years ago.

Apart from all that, he was a man worthy of the deepest veneration. His capacity for strong drink was inordinate, and his knowledge of the Bible prodigious. And to this day they will tell you how Tearlach put the minister through his facings as regards the Book; how he had asked the minister questions which he could not answer; and how the minister—he was young and

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callow—had been seized with confusion, and had contradicted himself right and left. There was surely something strange about one who could thus with impunity take liberties with the man of God; and Tearlach Mór was shrewdly suspected of having hidden dealings with the powers of darkness.

Day by day, when the weather was fine, he sat on a rough wooden bench set against the wall of his thatched hut in the little dell where stood the ruins of the old mill, while his hens wandered on the green sward, scratching and pecking for their prey. A great peace always broods in this sanctuary of silence. The only sound to break the stillness is the eternal song of the waterfall, as it foams over the miniature precipice where the rowans redden in the silver spray.

One day Seoras Garbh was driving home his cattle in the mouth of the evening, and as he passed by the old mill he hailed Tearlach Mór, who was sitting in his accustomed place amid the deepening twilight.

"It will be a fine night, Tearlach," observed the drover.

"It will, indeed," admitted the old man, gazing straight before him.

A silence ensued. Seoras made another effort to start a conversation. Leaning against the lichen-clad wall of the mill he drew a black cutty from his waistcoat pocket. The cattle strolled on, and began to munch the carpet of sweet-scented grass by the side of the road.

"Yes, it will be a fine night," he repeated, lighting his pipe, and preparing for a lengthy talk. But old Tearlach only sat and sucked his fallen-in cheeks; and

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Seoras, finding that all attempts to draw him into conversation were futile, prepared to resume his trudge homeward. Calling his dog, he snorted good-night, and started off down the road. He had not proceeded fifteen yards when Tearlach's voice made him halt and turn round.

"Where is Eachan Donn the day?" asked the old man.

"Eachan Donn MacNeill?"

"Aye, for sure. Him in Glengair."

"How should I know where he is? I am not his keeper."

"True, true for you, Seoras Garbh," responded old Tearlach, nodding his head. "How should you know, for sure, how should you know? You are not his keeper, as you say."

There was manifestly so much behind the simple words that Seoras loitered. A rabbit scurried across the road to disappear with a whisk of its white tuft of tail into its burrow. High in the heavens a lark trilled out its evensong of love. A bat whirled giddily round the moss-grown gables of the crumbling mill. Through the trees the waters of the Sound gleamed calm and placid, the great hills reflected in their mirror-like depths. From the heather-thatched cabin the peat reek rose like incense in the still evening air, and blended with the fragrance of the hyacinth and wild thyme on the perfume-dowered braes. The songs of the birds were becoming fitful as the night approached, while the trunks of the trees in the hazel copse loomed shadowy, ethereal, intangible.

Seoras blew a cloud of blue smoke into the air,

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while he surveyed the sitting figure by the hut with undisguised curiosity.

"What is it you want with Eachan Donn?" he inquired at last, leaning on his thick ash-stick. "Now that I remember, I did hear that he left for Inverness this morning on matters of business. Is that what you want to know?"

Old Tearlach emitted a strange chuckle into his beard, and squirted some tobacco juice on to the ground with a sibilant sound. "I knew it, I knew it," he mumbled, shaking his head from side to side. "He will never come back no more. I, Tearlach, son of Tormaid, have said it. He will never come back no more."

Seoras Garbh looked uncomfortable. He was intensely superstitious, and among his companions he had always maintained that Tearlach Mór had the evil eye. The darkness was coming on, and he still had some distance to go.

"Do you hear what I say?" suddenly shouted old Tearlach. "Eachan Donn is not coming back to Kilmorich alive, but only in his coffin. Tearlach saw it in his dreams. And he had on the black band round his jaws—for he was a corpse, was Eachan Donn. I know it all, oh yes, I know it all!"

He chuckled in a devilish manner. Seoras began to feel his hair rising under his tattered cap.

"What is more," continued the strident voice from the hut, "they will need old Tearlach to find him. Mark my words, Seoras Garbh, they will need me to find him. I know the meaning of it all!"

The drover waited for no more. As fast as was

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compatible with his portly dignity he strode down the road after his cattle. His fat face was blanched with fright. Every shadow in the hedgerows made his heart leap into his mouth. But once his croft was reached and his cattle were stalled, and he himself was safe within the glow of the warm peats his courage rose, insomuch that he read a chapter that night of forty-seven verses, and sang the evening psalm with firm sonorous voice. And when the fire was smooored he climbed into the box-bed, and slept the sleep of the righteous.

II

Four days later the clachan worthies were sitting by the rickety door of the tumble-down smithy as was their wont at the hour of the going down of the sun. It was a still, restful night of early summer. A soft low-lying mist hung over the slumbering earth, domed with the darkening canopy of heaven. The little group sat in silence, spell-bound by the enchantment of the night; the red glow from their pipes now and again suffused their faces with a crimson light. Down the broad dusty road, blurred and strange in the uncertain light, came the rumble of wheels and the sound of fast-stepping hoofs, and soon round the corner of the church swung the bright lamps of a swiftly driven gig. A few seconds later it drew up opposite the little group, and the voice of Colin Stewart, the factor, came from the box-seat.

"Have you heard the news?" said he.

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"What news?" asked Seumas Dubh, the blacksmith.

"About old Janet, the mother of Eachan MacNeill?"

"What about her?" queried the postman, glowering through the dusk.

"Why, Eachan should have been back two days ago, but he hasn't turned up yet, and there is no word of him. And now that old rascal Tearlach Mór has been going telling old Janet a lot of nonsense about visions and dreams, and God knows what not, and he has driven the old woman half crazy with terror. Would you believe it, the scoundrel has been telling her that Eachan is dead—Janet's nearly demented. . . . I'm going up for the minister."

He flicked the horse with his whip and drove on up the clachan, wheeling in at the gate of the long avenue, bordered by birch and ash, hazel and lime-trees, which led up to the old-world manse.

The men by the smithy door sat smoking in unbroken silence. In the gloom each man's face was calm with the stoical imperturbability of the Celt, unmoved, inscrutable. They all knew the words of Tearlach Mór, for Seoras Garbh had a long tongue, and they were not inclined to set so light a value on them as did the factor. Chewing the stump of his dirt-stained cutty, the grizzled blacksmith stared long and hard into the blood-red glow still hovering on the western sky-line.

"It is strange," he muttered, as if to himself. "It is strange. *Chì sinn.* We shall see what we shall see."

And silence fell once more.

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III

Several days passed, and Eachan Donn did not return home. There was no news of him to be gleaned anywhere. A feeling of uneasiness began to pervade the clachan, and the wild words which Tearlach Mór had spoken to Seoras Garbh began to have a new significance. They were quoted in the barn and in the field, by the glowing peats and in the workshop, till there was no one in Kilmorich but knew the whole conversation by heart, including the embellishment with which continued repetition had adorned it.

At length Aeneas Macdonnell, the laird, set out from the old grey turreted castle on the rock, and wended his way to the manse. He was not superstitious, but things were a little beyond the ordinary. Having sought the minister, they decided that they would themselves see Tearlach and hear what he really had said. Both were Celts, and in each heart lurked a half-smothered suspicion that perhaps the strange old man knew more than they suspected. They found him in his hut standing by the fire, over which was suspended a great black cauldron in which he was boiling potatoes for his mid-day meal. Half a dozen hens stalked about the floor, and a big shaggy dog lay asleep in the box-bed. Tearlach surveyed his visitors through the murky gloom, and slowly doffed his cap in salutation.

"What is all this about Eachan Donn MacNeill?" began the minister at once, sitting down on a three-legged stool by the bed: Aeneas MacDonnell leaned against the dresser. "You have driven old Mairi

almost out of her senses with your absurd talk. It is surprised I am at you, Tearlach, son of Tormaid."

The old man spoke not a word in reply. Slowly and deliberately he stirred the potatoes with a long wooden spoon. The silence was broken only by the spasmodic yelps of the dog as he dreamed of coursing over the heathery wastes.

"Well, my man, what have you to say?" interposed the laird. "Do you know anything about young MacNeill or do you not? Out with it if you do."

At that old Tearlach laughed.

"Is there such a thing as *An dà shealladh*?¹ Do you believe in it, minister?" he asked.

"No, I don't," replied the Reverend Patrick Maclaine, with that promptitude which is born of the incorrigible conceit of youth. He used to believe in all that sort of thing: so did his quaint old-fashioned father who had ministered in Kilmorich before him. But he had belonged to an antediluvian generation, and the Reverend Patrick was a disciple of that school of modern thought which knows everything there is to know in earth and sky and sea. Seven years in Edinburgh at the feet of Gamaliel had cured all the nonsensical credulity of the days of his childhood.

Tearlach, son of Tormaid, lifted the pot off the tripod, depositing it upon the earthen floor. Giving the peats a kick he turned to the young minister.

"Man of God," he said very gently, "I am an old man, and if you will forgive the likes of me taking a liberty, I will make bold to say I am almost old enough to be your great-grandfather. And I will tell you one

¹ The Second Sight.

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thing that young men are apt to forget:—there are many things in this world that are beyond the knowing even of ministers. Do you know how or why the world was made, or for what all the stars are hanging in the sky? Do you know why the ocean flows obedient to the moon, or how it is the seasons never fail? Do you know why the world is full of pain and sin when God made man in His own image? Do you know why He made man at all? Do you indeed know anything of that spirit which, like the wild free winds of Heaven, bloweth whither it listeth that you presume to know its bounds and limitations? Man of God, you and I know not anything at all of these things. But this I can tell, that to some are given the gift of seeing things which are as a sealed book to other men, and to Tearlach, son of Tormaid, has this been given. And I have seen Eachan Donn with the eyes of the soul, and he is dead, *dead*, DEAD! As dead as I shall be when you have laid him in Kilmorich graveyard."

The old man's voice rose to a loud wail.

"Yes, Tearlach's days are numbered. He will find the son of Mairi MacNeill for you and then he will go. He hears voices calling him to go to learn the secrets of the stars, and he cannot stay. . . . The hour you lay Eachan Donn in his grave will old Tearlach pass away."

A far-away look was in his age-dimmed eye; his hands were shaking as with ague. Maclaine rose and assisted him on to the one chair the room possessed. It was impossible not to be impressed with the old man's words, and the minister felt both impressed and subdued. He continued the conversation in a humbler tone.

Eachan Donn

"Tearlach Mór," he said quietly, "tell me all you know."

And Tearlach, son of Tormaid, sat and gazed into the red embers. For fully three minutes silence reigned unbroken, and then the old man began to speak in a monotonous undertone as one under some hypnotic influence. The two listeners bent and strained to catch his words. Minutely and clearly he described a lonely loch encircled with hills so high that they seemed to shut out the sky itself, and over the face of the waters there brooded a terrible gloom. At one end of the loch, hard by the shore, was a little islet and on it the ruins of an ancient stronghold. The walls were crumbling, but the tower was in perfect preservation. On one side of it were four windows, on another side two. Rushes grew in thick profusion round the shores. Opposite the four-windowed wall of the old castle towered a black precipice, scarred and storm-seared, round the face of which, three hundred feet or so above the level of the loch, there wound a road leading he knew not whither, coming he knew not whence. It was night. The moon shone with a mournful radiance upon the lonely scene. In the shadow of the precipice among the rushes there floated face downwards in the water the body of a man.

"Can you tell who it is?" queried MacDonnell in an awe-struck whisper. "Can you see his face?"

"I cannot see his face," went on the weird chant, "but about the dead man's head there floats like seaweed the long brown hair of Eachan Donn. And the waters are cold, cold, and the night it is dark."

He ceased speaking, and silence again fell. Through

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the grimy pane that formed the window they could see the dell bathed in the bright morning sunshine, and in the distance gleamed the blue laughter-dimpled waters of the Sound. But old Tearlach sat and gazed with a fixed unearthly stare, into the red peats, whence the smoke rose to the chimney-hole in the heather-thatched roof.

"Why, man, you have often told me that you have never been from Kilmorich in your life," suddenly exclaimed Maclaine, rising to his feet.

"Many things are revealed to the soul of 'Tearlach," came back the answer, "and I have seen the vision. Eachan Donn is dead, and in that loch, wherever it be, you will find him if you seek him."

And once again he described the loch. Every crag and rock, every bay and point were as clear to him as were the landmarks of Kilmorich. All at once while he spoke, even as when the sun breaks through the clouds and floods the earth with his brightness, so did a great light break upon the mind of the minister, and with a new look in his eyes he cried,

"Before God, MacDonnell, I know that very loch. Come on; there's no time to waste!"

IV

The afternoon of the next day saw Maclaine and the laird in Inverness; its eventide saw them by the shores of a dark mountain loch, girt about on all sides by hills, and on its bosom a small island even as Tearlach Mór had said. The darkness had crept on

Eachan Donn

ere they found the thatched hut of a fisherman, two miles from the north end. They roused him up and told him their errand—they wanted his boat. The mere mention of a corpse to be sought for in the darkness was enough; the grisled old Gael stubbornly refused. A tempting reward was offered—he was obdurate. But the hint of more gold was too much even for the superstitious Celt; he dressed himself, unfastened the painter of his boat from its stake in the shore, and the three men set forth upon their curious quest by the light of the moon. The night wind swept chill and piercing across the waters, and moaned through the ravines and pine-woods on the face of the hills with a plaintive sough, like a woman sobbing for her dead. In the distance the foxes barked to one another. An owl hooted. From the shore the fisherman's dog howled, and the sound rose upon the night air loud and full of anguish like the wail of a lost soul.

The Gael bent to his oars; the two men in the stern of the boat shivered and drew their coats closer about them. The great black masses of the mountains towered ghost-like around them. In silence the boat proceeded up the loch, leaving behind a glittering phosphorescent wake. The water gleamed like jewels upon the blades of the oars as they rhythmically dipped and rose into the soft moonshine. Not a word was spoken. Under his breath the boatman was humming a slow chant. A strange oppression hung over them like a pall; their nerves were strung to the highest pitch. A great fish rose suddenly within a few yards of them to fall back with a loud splash into the black depths. They started as if they had seen a wraith.

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At last they came to the islet, and the fisherman with much trepidation ran his boat on the shore under the ruined walls. Wading through the rushes they gained the grass bank. Expectantly they gazed around—there was nothing unusual to arrest their eyes. No sound broke the intense stillness save the lapping of the waves against the boat.

The imaginative boatman grew restive.

"I'll be thinking we may as well go back," he tentatively suggested. "There seems to be nothing here."

"It was the side facing the cliff that Tearlach Mór said," whispered MacDonnell. And the two friends crept round the tower as if afraid of making the slightest sound. The terrified fisherman crawled after them. Rounding the castle to where the wall with four windows faces towards the great precipice, their hearts seemed to stop beating. The laird convulsively clutched the minister's arm, while the fisherman shrank back ashen-faced against the lichen-covered wall. A cold creeping horror seized them, numbing every limb. For there among the rushes lay the dead body of a man, face downwards in the water.

They pulled the dead thing on the bank, and turned it over on its back. The moon streamed down, forming a ghastly shroud of light around the pale drawn face of Eachan Donn, whose sightless eyes were fixed in the glassy stare of death.

They brought him back to Kilmorich. The soft grey shadows of early twilight were gathering round the trunks of the trees as the little procession, bearing its

Eachan Donn

sad burden, passed through the dell on its way from the wayside station to the old white farmhouse in Glengair. Tearlach watched them pass, with an unwonted, wistful look in his dull grey eyes. As the last man was lost to sight round the corner of the road he slowly rose and hobbled into his hut. Very methodically he began to tidy up the humble room.

"I must put my house in order," quoth he, with a wan smile. "I will be for going away soon."

V

In the calm of a cloudless summer afternoon they laid Eachan Donn with his fathers. After the funeral Maclaine and the laird met in the clachan street. Simultaneously both made the remark,

"Shall we go and see old Tearlach?"

Without another word they set off for the dell. Birds carolled in every bough as they traversed the short-cut through the woods. In the cool shade of the sequestered glades the slanting sunbeams fell through the thick rustling foliage upon verdant carpets of moss and leaves bedecked with wild hyacinth. Hyacinths abounded in the dell in wild profusion like a waving carpet of violet. It was like a shaded temple of the woodland nymphs that afternoon, all pervaded with subtle perfumes, eloquent of peace. Down past the roofless walls of the old mill the burn gurgled, falling over frescoes of carved stones into green translucent pools over which danced myriads of winged insects. The soft shafts of light kissed the silver waterfall into

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gold as the stream fell in a cascade over the glistening rock like an endless lacework of liquid jewels. The languorous drone of the bees, busy on the flowery braes, filled the air with drowsy enchanting music. Outside in the full blaze of the sunshine the motionless waters of the Sound gleamed like a sea of glass. On the far horizon great fantastic clouds, pearl-white with violet shadows, piled themselves up in snowy banks against a sapphire sky.

Round the door of the wee cabin the hens were grouped, each standing on one leg in pensive meditation. Through the hole in the roof the peat-reek ascended, diffusing its haunting fragrance. Old Tearlach was sitting as usual on his wooden bench. His moleskin cap was firmly pulled down on his head; his gnarled hands were crossed upon the handle of his stick. By his side sat his shaggy dog, its right paw resting on its master's knee as it stared up into his face. As the two men approached the beast looked round and whined. But Tearlach neither moved nor spoke. And it was then they saw that on his face hovered that beautiful light which at one period, and at one period alone, in the history of every son and daughter of Eve, hovers upon the features, as if endeavouring to make some transient recompense for the spirit that is fled. Tearlach Mór was dead!

Patrick Maclaine stood gazing far away into the blue distance. His young face seemed to have grown older: the jaw was firmer, the mouth had a strange set and in his eyes there lurked a look as of a man who has just awakened from a long, deep sleep.

CHARLES L. WARR.

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